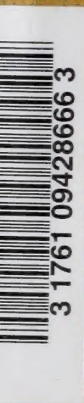


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Mongerings”



from the

Daily Mail

1896 - 1914

The paper that foretold the war





# "Scare- Mongerings"

FROM THE

**Daily Mail**

1896—1914

*The Paper that Foretold the War.*

Compiled by

TWELLS BREX

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24/3/11





# THIS BOOK

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**T**HIS collection of extracts traces the beginning of Prussian hostility to the British Empire from 1864, pointing out how it was accentuated by England's neutrality in 1870, and by her attitude in 1875.

The book is of value as showing the great efforts made by successive British Governments to avoid conflict with Germany. Above all, it is a record of unremitting newspaper effort, in the face of intense hostility, to urge that the British Navy and Army should be kept in a condition to meet the present crisis. Particularly interesting are the accounts of German spy work in England, and the speeches and writings of our pro-German public men and journalists, who were either personally hypnotised by the Kaiser or grossly deficient in prevision. The work contains a good deal of forgotten writings by the late Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. W. T. Stead, and Mr. G. W. Steevens, as also by Lord Roberts, Admiral Mahan, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Winston Churchill, Professor Hans Delbrück, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Lovat Fraser, Mr. Robert Blatchford, Mr. Austen Harrison, his distinguished father, Mr. Frederic Harrison, and many others, and is, in fact, a record of Anglo-German relations for the last eighteen years.

TWELLS BREX.







# SOME OTHER PROPHETS

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**“There will be No War with Germany.”**

—MR. CADBURY'S *Daily News*.

(*Vide p. 142*)

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**“Where is the danger that now confronts us?”**

—SIR JOHN BRUNNER, seconder of a resolution for reduction of armaments.

(*Vide p. 53*)

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“A well-known Socialist writer (Mr. Blatchford) has been pressed into the service of a Tory newspaper in order to make your blood creep with horrible imaginings as to the designs of a great friendly Power.”

—MR. MCKENNA

(*Vide p. 92*)

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“I speak of one whom we admire in this country and regard as one of ourselves.

“He (the Kaiser) knows our language and our institutions as we do, and he speaks as we do.

“The German Emperor is something more than an emperor—he is a man, and a great man. He is gifted by the gods with the highest gift that they can give—I use a German word to express it—Geist (spirit). He has got Geist in the highest degree. He has been a true leader of his people—a leader in spirit as well as in deed. He has guided them through nearly a quarter of a century, and preserved unbroken peace. I know no record of which a monarch has better cause to be proud. In every direction his activities have been remarkable.

“He has given his country that splendid fleet that we who know about fleets admire; he has preserved the



tradition of the greatest army the world has ever seen ; but it is in the arts of peace that he has been equally great. He has been the leader of his people in education and in the solution of great social questions.

“That is a great record, and it makes one feel a sense of rejoicing that the man who is associated with these things should be half an Englishman. I have the feeling very strongly that in the last few years Germany and England have become much more like each other than they used to be. It is because we have got so much like each other that a certain element of rivalry comes in.

“We two nations have a great common task in the world—to make the world better. It is because the German Emperor, I know, shares that conviction profoundly that it gives me the greatest pleasure to give you the toast of his name.”

—LORD HALDANE

(*Vide p. 120*)

“I can assure you that the scaremongers are making us look ridiculous in the eyes of the world ; our German friends wonder what is the matter with our nerves.”

—SIR ALFRED MOND

“We (British and German Socialists) can kill the war spirit even before it is born. To Herr Bebel and our German comrades all, hands all round, and pledge deep the toast: ‘Hoch! hoch! hoch! for the international solidarity of Labour.’”

—MR. KEIR HARDIE

(*Vide p. 55*)

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*Many More to Follow if Required—TWELLS BRES.*



# 1864—1896

## THE BEGINNING OF PRUSSIAN HATRED

THE "Daily Mail" claims no prophetic instinct, but it does claim to have made a close study of Germany, through a series of eye-witnesses, despatched to all parts of that country, practically every month of every year since 1896. Prussian hatred of England dates back long before January of that year (when the German Emperor sent his famous telegram to President Kruger).

It commenced as far back as 1864, when the sympathy of Great Britain for Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein campaign aroused the bitter resentment of the Prussians.

It was increased during the Franco-German War of 1870, by German chagrin at England's neutrality, and by a German belief—studiously fomented by Bismarck, "one of the most sinister of figures that has ever been painted on the canvas of history" (Sir Robert Morier, in his "Memoirs")—that the British Government was hostile to Germany; that the French naval expedition would have been impossible but for contracts entered into with Newcastle coaling firms; that the horses wanted for the French artillery were mainly supplied by purchases in England and Ireland, and that contracts on a gigantic scale had been entered into at Birmingham and elsewhere for the ammunition required for the chassepot rifle.

In the summer of 1875 Bismarck planned another and unprovoked attack on France—lying weak and helpless after her defeat of four years earlier. England and Russia intervened, and war was averted by the firmness of Lord Derby and Schouvaloff. Bismarck cloaked the defeat of his project by a suave declaration that the threatened war was only a war of bourses and newspapers, "but behind our backs Bismarck raves like a maniac, and swears he will take his revenge." (Letter from Lord Odo Russell to Sir Robert Morier.)

Bismarck took his revenge. On the death of the Emperor Frederick, thirteen years later, the German officially inspired Press broke out into a bitter

attack against Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador then at St. Petersburg, but for many years previously resident in Germany in the British Diplomatic Service, and a personal friend of the dead Emperor. Sir Robert Morier was as Germanophile as any Englishman who ever lived, but he had himself summed up the German character, anent German feeling against England in 1870, and the enduring nature of a German grievance, in these significant words: "It is a peculiarity of the German race that the sentiment of the great crises of national life translates itself into solid, practical fact; it is to a German what glory is to a Frenchman, and *it should not therefore be kept out of sight in practical speculations of the future.*"

Sir Robert Morier, in short, prophesied that the German animosity against England would last; that "it might take generations to allay the vindictiveness of the German people."

Jealousy of British prestige and commerce was sufficient to keep that hatred simmering; it bubbled in wrath at Cecil Rhodes's extension of our Empire; and the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger (January 3rd, 1896), surprise and shock though it was to the British people, animated by nothing but friendliness towards Germany and its Emperor, was only an outburst of an old passion.

These were the words of the telegram (on the occasion of the Jameson Raid):

I express my sincere congratulations that, supported by your people, and without appealing for the help of friendly Powers, you have succeeded, by your own energetic action, against armed bands which invaded your country as disturbers of the peace, and have thus been enabled to restore peace and safeguard the independence of the country from attacks from outside.

WILLIAM.



Germany sent warships to Delagoa Bay; the German Press flamed out into hostility to England; a German military paper declared that "the impossibility of invading England is only a legend"; and the German Government tried to persuade France and Russia to go to war with England.

France declined to believe that German indignation was disinterested, and a calmer tone became apparent in Germany on realisation that other Powers were not prepared to join her against Great Britain. The "Kölnische Zeitung" hastened to remark (January 8th) that "the Emperor's telegram was dictated not against England but against Dr. Jameson and his raiders"—an explanation discounted by a declaration of the German Secretary of State that the telegram was "a German State act" (February 7th); by its own subsequent remark (January 17th) that "at any moment the stone may be set rolling that will threaten the clay

feet of the powerful English colossus," and by the further revelation that the Kaiser promised Dr. Leyds prompt intervention in case of open conflict of the Transvaal Republic with Great Britain, and advised Kruger to "announce absolute independence of England, and repudiate the Convention of 1884."

It is notable that—as in all subsequent crises—Germany had been watchful of internal difficulties in England. Strikes and lock-outs prevailed at Belfast and on the Clyde. But the sudden activity of our dockyards, the despatch of cruisers to Lorenzo Marques, the decision to forthwith commission a flying squadron, the warm Colonial offers of support, and the first discussion of the organisation of an expeditionary force, postponed for a while that "Day" of which German militarists and professors were already dreaming.

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## 1896

**THE KEYNOTE IS MILITARISM**

"From the moment that one passes through the sluggish frontier towns of Holland or Belgium the keynote of modern Germany is struck—and that keynote is militarism."

The "Daily Mail" appeared first on May 4th, 1896, and these words are extracted from its first article on Germany and the Germans (August 17th). Three days later a leading article warned the British nation of the inevitable Boer War, and discussed German machinations with President Kruger. A further article upon Germany and the Germans (August 31st) thus spoke of the then young Kaiser:

"The touches of Imperial arrogance, the oratorical bombshells, that so frequently astonish the civilised world—the perpetual harping upon the fearlessness of the Hohenzollerns—the belief in succession by divine right—and the all-pervading atmosphere of Ego."

In a spirit of prophecy, the writer of this article (the late Mr. Gilbert Burgess, one of the first "Daily Mail" special inquirers to make a tour of investigation in Germany) applied to the Kaiser George Meredith's line from "The Egoist":

"Through very love of self, himself he slew."

**The German Character**

Of the modern German character the same writer said:

"The influence of the half-naked barbarians who swept over the Thuringian forests soon after the birth of Christianity has never been totally eradicated. There is, *au fond*, an inherent brutality in the German character which the saving grace of the art of music has never destroyed."

Already, unknowing, he was writing the epitaph of Louvain.

On September 14th, the "Daily Mail" gave its first description of German Army manœuvres.

By his Majesty's orders the Prussians attacked at a juncture when defeat seemed inevitable. And so in truth it proved. Had this occurred in war, whole regiments would have been uselessly sacrificed.

In all later criticisms of German manœuvres recurs the same comment on these tactics, which in actual combat have cost so much in 1914.

September 18th,

**The Plain Course**

The plain fact is that England is not now ready to fight.

Our strength lies in our fleet, and our fleet is palpably inadequate to retain for us that command of the sea which has been for centuries our national boast and safeguard.

If we are to be the great Power of the future, and to take our share in determining such mighty issues as the fate of subject nations and the rise and fall of monarchies, our plain course is to strengthen our Navy.

In the same issue Lord Charles Beresford expressed equally strong views, and on September 19th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th appeared an important series of articles by Mr. H. W. Wilson (the first of an eighteen years' campaign by that brilliant naval writer), entitled "Our Naval Weakness."

In these articles, and their accompanying leaders, the "Daily Mail," while expressing itself as strongly against Jingoism, urged the gravity of defensive measures.

In September Germany joined a hostile Continental combination against England over the Armenian atrocities.

**Trafalgar Day**

The "Daily Mail" (September 30th) urged a Federated Union of the British Empire, and on the anniversary of Trafalgar (October 21st), declared that:

England is but slowly awakening from a half-century of sloth and neglect, and beginning to realise the danger which menaces her. Nations armed to the teeth and fiercely jealous of her prosperity surround her on every side. They hope to wrest from her failing hands the maritime sceptre, to strip her of her wealth, colonies, and commerce.

The article urged the younger generation of England to join the Navy League. It pointed out how much greater our stake was than in Nelson's time.

Then the country fed itself—now it will starve if our fleet is not strong enough.

A leading article (October 23rd) suggested an end to England's isolation, and a rapprochement with Russia.

October 24th.

The man who opposes the increase of England's fleet is a traitor in act, if not in intention.

**The Commercial Invaders**

November 9th.

A leader, on the invasion of England by German clerks, urged British employers to employ British instead of Germans.

The German is our most dangerous trade rival of the future, and in helping him to learn the art of beating us in our own fields of commerce, we are doing as foolish an act as if we built warships and moulded cannon for a nation actually hostile to us.

# 1897

## Our Only Defence

"The sea is not only our first, but practically our only line of defence. That lost, all is lost. We could never hope successfully to oppose the innumerable hosts that could be poured into our country if our fleets were seriously defeated."

January 2nd.

Europe begins the year with fresh preparations for war, and the millennium of peace recedes further into a doubtful future.

January 15th.

## A Prophetic Statement

Russia, not the insolent and overbearing Hohenzollern, is the great factor in the future settlement.

Germany must learn that the world's politics are not exclusively hers.

January 18th.

*We say once, and twice, and over again, that the task of keeping our fleet in front of the world, of building ships, and forging guns, and training men for sea service, is the vital work that confronts British statesmen. Let them neglect it for a generation, and the British Empire will be tottering to its fall.*

March 23rd.

## "Canada in Arms"

We shall want our fighting cousins of the colonies one of these days. The world is not yet converted to peace, and the final war of the world remains to be fought. In the day of danger that will all too surely come, we shall be right glad to know that the soldiers of the Empire are the comrades and friends of the soldiers of England.

On July 2nd the "Daily Mail" made the ironic comment that:

A considerable portion of the Press of this country appears to be under German influence.

July 19th.

## German War Pigeons in England

Can the War Office say to what extent reciprocity in the matter of exercising military

pigeons is practised between Germany and this country? A consignment of 2,000 German war pigeons is now at Dover. Do we take war pigeons to Bremen? We do not send them to Cherbourg, because the French authorities stopped the game. Nevertheless, French war pigeons visit the south coast of England. This is not a case of Free Trade and Protection; it is a case for reciprocity, or no pigeon-flying.

July 21st.

*When will our War Office and Admiralty awake to the fact that the fighting secrets of Russia, Germany, and France are closed books to us, while our own war appliances, plans, and fortifications are common property to every foreign expert? German pigeons fly from England, but Germany prohibits reciprocity. Russian and German princes visit our arsenals, shore defences, and the rest as guests of the nation, when, in reality, their visits are merely high-class espionage. When war bursts, we shall then learn, too late, the folly of this free-trade variety of national defence.*

September 2nd.

## "The Kaiser's Good Intentions"

The keynote of the German Emperor's every action and every speech still appears to us to be a deplorable personal vanity, spoiling and overshadowing quite a host of virtues. Judging him as dispassionately as we may, we are still forced to the conclusion that, except for this ungovernable vanity, England would to-day be rejoicing as a friend one of the most able and esteemed princes in Europe. We see virtues and abilities in the Emperor William that it would be invidious and un-English to deny. But we see this vanity; we have felt its sting; and the sting abides. Its worst feature, too, is that it increases, in spite of sermons, protest and compassion. We have lost nothing by it; we have even profited; so we can safely pity it, for it keeps two nations apart that should be friends in the interests of common civilisation.



## THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY

*Commencing on September 24th, the late G. W. Steevens wrote in the "Daily Mail" his memorable series of sixteen articles upon Germany, entitled "Under the Iron Heel." This pen panorama of modern Germany, its life, government, people, and mental attitude, has never been excelled. With all his renowned incisiveness, observation, and brilliancy of phrase, the famous writer presented a picture of Germany that holds good of the Germany of to-day. And, even seventeen years ago, his acute perception foresaw the trend of German militarism, and the growing hatred of England that would culminate in the great struggle of to-day.*

*It is possible to give here from these vivid columns only such passages as bear on the Kaiser, German militarism, and German relations with England.*

### THE KAISER (The Autumn Parade)

In Germany somebody has always arranged things for you. "All right" is the national cry of the Englishman all the world over; the German for it is, "Alles in Ordnung"—"Everything in order." But "All right" usually means that things will do as they are; "Alles in Ordnung" means that they are as somebody up above has ordained that they shall be.

*Between the walls of acclamation came riding the Kaiser. A man of middle size, sitting constrainedly and bolt upright; a dead yellow skin, hard-pencilled brows, a straight, masterful chin, lips jammed close together under a dark moustache pointing straight upward to the whites of his eyes. A face at once repulsive and pathetic, so harsh and stony was it, so grimly solemn. A face in which no individual feature was very dark, but which altogether was as black as thunder. He raised his gloved hand in a stiff mechanical salute, and turned his head impassively from left to right; but there was no courtesy in the salute, no light in the eye, no smile on the tight mouth for his loyal subjects. He looked like a man without joy, without love, without pity, without hope. He looked*

### Like a Man who had Never Laughed

*like a man who could never sleep. A man might wear such a face who felt himself turning slowly to ice.*

He was gone again, and the crowd was flooding the street behind him. "Ach," sighed an old lady in crape, "pity that he always looks so cross. So different from our dear, dear old Kaiser." And I saw more than one grey head shake as she spoke, not angrily, but with a kindly and even touching regret. But all the older men are not quite so sparing in their condemnation. The young—I am speaking now only of the well-to-do—are often ecstatic in their admiration; he is German through and through, they will tell you; he means to make Germany the only nation on earth, they tell you, though they do not tell you how. Even their elders will own that he is a rousing speaker. "He

hits the nail on the head; his speeches thrill us all through when we read them in the newspapers. Then, perhaps, they will tell you an anecdote of his readiness. One day as he rode through a by-street he came on a score of Socialistic workmen. Eighteen took off their hats reluctantly, two remained covered. Whereon the Kaiser rode straight up, and saluted them till their caps came off for shame, if not for loyalty.

That was well and kingly done. But that is almost the only action I have heard of him which might win his people's personal love. The young may admire and trust in him, but

### He is Not the Beloved Sovereign

his grandfather was—not even what his father was. The old Kaiser came to his study-window every morning of his life to greet his people; the present Kaiser began by shutting a gate of the Royal Palace that had always stood open. It was a small thing, but it was noticed. The old Kaiser and Unser Fritz had a smile and a cheery word for the meanest of their subjects; this Kaiser has sometimes a machine-made salute and always a scowl. He seems to despise his people, and even the Germans dislike too obvious a show of scorn, even in a Kaiser. What has he done? they ask. His father and grandfather had done great things for Germany; this man has talked much and done nothing.

In the evening of that day I saw the Kaiser again. There was a State performance at the Opera for the King of Siam, and the house was decorated with a simple good taste which shamed the luxuriance of Covent Garden on gala nights. In the first eight rows of stalls or so sat only officers.

### The Ladies had to Scramble

for the back seats as they liked. The whole house, from floor to upper gallery, shone with orders and uniforms. The ballet was to begin at eight, and end at nine. But eight o'clock came, five past, a quarter past, half past, and the Royal box was still empty. If punctuality be the politeness of princes, this was an unmannerly prince indeed.

At last a chamberlain, or something, came to the front of the Royal Box and tapped thrice with his wand. The whole house rose. Then appeared the Kaiserin—plain, plump, not interesting—on the arm of the little yellow King of Siam. *Behind came the Kaiser. Stiffly he moved to the front of the box; stiffly he brought his heels together and drew himself up. He seemed to bring himself into position in pieces; you could see him squaring his shoulders; you could see him inflating his chest. Then with a fixed unmoving face, he pushed his head forward perhaps two inches; that was his salute. A king who cannot smile is bad; a king who cannot bow is worse.*

*He fixed himself very bolt upright and stared unwinking straight before him at the stage. The curtain*

## THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

went up and the ballet began. The Kaiser still sat without moving a muscle, a face and a figure like that of a statue. Now and again the King of Siam's questions became too insistent; the Kaiser bent over for a moment, as if he had one joint in the middle of his back, and then drew back to the jointless graven image. Once he turned to somebody behind him, and I hoped he laughed. Laughter on that face would be like moist grass in a desert.

It was over. The Kaiser rose, squared his shoulders, inflicted his chest, pecked at his people, and went. The last I saw of him he was giving his arm to a princess; he looked like a coloured plate out of a book of etiquette. I wondered vaguely whether he ever unbends enough to get his clothes off?

### THE MILITARY GRINDSTONE.

Military service grinds harder and harder. There is no escape now for anybody; and the young peasants go to it with loathing and come back after their three years of Prussian sergeant with deeper loathing yet. But they must hold themselves ready to fight the enemies of Prussia—possibly England, for example. They feel kindly towards England, but Prussia hates her, and Prussia gives the order. It so happens that the Low German the peasant speaks is as much English as it is German; of course the Prussian officer does not talk it. From all of which it follows that when there is a case of theft or beggary, the peasants say, "It must have been a Prussian." And if you want to insult a peasant to blows you have only got to call him "old Prussian"; he will come for you with a whip or scythe.

### WILLIAM II., AUTOCRAT

"Sovereignty by the grace of God," explained the Kaiser, preparing to empty his glass—"sovereignty, with its never ending, ever enduring toils and anxieties, with its awful responsibility to the Creator alone, from which no Minister, no Parliament, no people, can absolve the Prince." He has said it before in various forms, but perhaps he never put it quite so plump as the other day at Coblenz. These words are the key to his whole character, his whole reign. They may be read in the deadly solemnity of his face; they may be read in the flighty irresponsibility of his actions.

Of course, the Kaiserite Press hastened to point out that the Kaiser didn't mean what you all thought he meant. Everybody is what he is, they remarked with perfect truth, by the grace of God. No doubt. By the grace of God, Charles the First was King of England, and by the grace of God, Cromwell cut off his head. There is no more divine right discernible in the one than in the other. It is easy to show that the apparent meaning of the Kaiser's words involves a fallacy, but for all that

the Kaiser meant them so. Mark that he did not confine himself to the platitude "responsibility to the Creator"; "to the Creator alone" is what he said. He meant the kind of divine right that dates from the heathen days when a king was really different from a man, and traced his pedigree right back to a god. He meant, in short, that he is and ought to be an absolute autocrat.

### An Absolute Autocrat

And an autocrat to-day he virtually is. So far his ten years of reign have been as completely successful as even his own inflated imagination could desire. The desire is notorious:

"My course is the right one," he has informed his people, "and that course shall still be steered." "There is only one law," he observed on another occasion, "and that is my law." But it may not be so generally realised that the notorious desire is now fully accomplished. The Kaiser is fully as absolute as the Emperor of Russia—less so in theory, more in practice. The only Sovereign who can compete with him in fulness and irresponsibility of authority is his friend the Sultan; and, curiously, both have gained their position in the same way.

### The Reichstag as a Whole

has no cohesion, no set policy, no power.

When Parliament is thus weak the Ministry cannot possibly be strong. Between the extremes of Agrarian Conservatives, who want the State to fix and maintain a high price for wheat, and Social Democrats, who would like the State to fix and maintain a low one, the Minister finds no party, no faction which he can call his own. He may have belonged to a party before he took office; but he cannot command its votes afterwards, and must pick up his majority by cajolery and little concessions or by threats, wherever he can find it. A Minister in this position is hardly the man to keep his end up against his Sovereign, even were he a strong man at one with his colleagues. But the Kaiser makes it his business to pick for Ministers weak men, and to see that they do not agree among themselves. Can you recall offhand the name of a single one of the Kaiser's Ministers? Except Prince Hohenlohe, probably not one. . . .

Of course, as there is no Party Government in Germany, the Ministers do not go in and out in a body. Each owes his place to the Kaiser's choice. When the Kaiser has done with him, he goes on sick leave for a while—and then goes outright. Each naturally tries to keep the Kaiser's favour, and with it his place, as long as possible.

### Each Works for His Own Hand

Not for the Ministry; there is no Ministry, only Ministers; and not for the country. . . .

A divided, impotent Parliament, a divided.



## THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

impotent Ministry—but that is not all. There has grown up an extra-constitutional, but very powerful, Second Ministry, consisting of the Kaiser's private Cabinet and his private friends. When he asks advice from anybody he asks it from them. . . . The members of this camarilla, who have no responsibility to anybody in the world but their master, are

### The Most Powerful Men in Germany.

Yet one more cleavage in the Empire the Kaiser sedulously widens—the gulf between civil and military. In a country like ours, where soldiering is a profession, like the Church or tailoring, you could understand the all-important distinction. In a country like Germany, where all men must take their turn at soldiering, the Army ought to be the people. The Kaiser takes care that it is not. He loses no chance of impressing on the soldiers that they are his men in some undefined special sense in which other citizens are not. As for the officers, he is the main bulwark of the belief that the officer is a man of other and finer stuff than the civilian: that the officer is to be upheld and encouraged is a luxurious sense of honour denied to his fellow-men. It would be stupid to try to belittle the German officer either as a soldier or a man; personally he is, as a rule, of the very best element of the country; naturally also, for his is the best career. But when it comes to shielding an officer, who has stabbed a defenceless civilian, from the ordinary procedure of the law courts, then divine right is going, perhaps, too far

*No united Ministry, no united Parliament, no united people; the Kaiser stands unmatched and alone. He is probably afraid of nothing in the world, but in any case there is nothing in Germany to be afraid of. He may boast, but his boasts are no way empty ones. As near as any man can be absolute, he is absolute lord over 50,000,000 souls.*

### WILLIAM II., FAILURE

William II. has now been on the throne of Germany for ten years. During the greater part of this time his rule has been, in practice, if not in theory, quite despotic. He is now thirty-eight years old—that is in the high prime of life, though the Germans, by contrast with his grandfather, often speak of him as if he were a mere boy. His abilities are unquestioned; his sincerity and honesty of intention, to my mind, beyond suspicion. His worst enemy could not accuse him of not knowing his own mind. His energy well-nigh amounts to a wonder of nature. His hand is in every detail of government; he can ride in icy rain all day at the head of his cavalry, transact business in the after-

noon, attend a banquet, and stagger Europe with a drink-speech, and then go off to sleep in his special train, and do the same thing next day, and the next, and the next. There are all sorts of mysterious stories about mysterious maladies, but whatever may or may not be affecting him has certainly not curtailed his powers of work. With all his high qualities, his quickness, insight, sincerity, self-confidence, resolution, energy, he has in ten years

### Accomplished Nothing—Absolutely Nothing

Absolutely nothing to show for himself by the side of the Great Elector, of Frederic the Great, of Friedrich Wilhelm III., of William I. Even his father had taken a man's share in the making of Germany; the son has made nothing. And not only that, but throughout his whole Empire—ruled, be it remembered, almost literally in accordance with his personal wishes in every smallest particular—broods sullen discontent and irritation.

. . . . When we pass to economic discontent the sky seems blacker. Socialism in Germany we are accustomed to think of as a dark and menacing cloud. At the last election to the Reichstag there were over 1,750,000 votes cast for Social Democracy. And remember, say alarmists, that of these 1,750,000 every man is a trained soldier. It looks as if the Kaiser were blundering towards the edge of an awful precipice. *But I doubt it.*

### HELIGOLAND

Nothing grows in Heligoland except potatoes, did I say? What a magnificent crop of notice-boards, long in the straw, heavy in the ear, embowers the fortifications. With what sternness is the Heligolander forbidden to approach the fortifications, referred to section so-many-hundred-and-so-many of the Strafgesetzbuch, and threatened with the penalties of the Act dealing with the betrayal of military secrets. Strafgesetzbuch means, literally, punishment-law-book, that is to say, criminal law. Criminal law is a necessity of all civilised States—and yet there is something about the conception of the "punishment-law-book" quite German. You picture the German buying the work in a book-shop, and reading it up to find what things it is naughty to do, and how hard he will be smacked for each naughtiness respectively. The Heligolander would seem to be beset by few temptations; but with the Germans came the new crime of betraying military secrets. Before, there were no military secrets to betray. Now, in the ample space devoted to official notices, you may read directions how the Heligolander is to avoid this crime. He must not sketch or photograph forts or guns; he must not take notes of their bearings; he must keep off the grass near them, and in general he must not look at them too often or too long. And



**THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY***(Continued)*

he must remind all strangers politely—no naughty rudeness!—that they must do likewise.

You may some of you remember

**The First Recruit.**

He was the first baby born after the cession of the island, and when his time comes he will have to serve in the Army or Navy. You may see that poor little wretch's pinched face—he is seven years old now—in almost every shop window in Heligoland. He has been photographed in a busby and sabre, with a toy horse at his feet, from which I infer that the idea is to make a Hussar of him. Possibly Heligoland's only horse has been imported to familiarise him betimes with the fact that such a quadruped exists. Now, shortly after the First Recruit was born, the Kaiser and the Kaiserin visited the island in state; and of the scandalous behaviour of the First Recruit on this occasion I speak on the testimony of an eye-witness. When the Kaiserin landed there met her six maidens of Heligoland bearing a bouquet of flowers. Behind them was the First Recruit in the arms of his mother; the Kaiserin approached him and made to pat his cheek. The First Recruit made one wild clutch at the bouquet and tore the middle out of it. Next came the Kaiser, who, undeterred, also made to pat his cheek. Then the First Recruit once more raised an impious hand and smote his sovereign across the face. And then turned right round and showed his back, and hid his face and refused to be comforted.

From this it may be inferred that the First Recruit is of the old Heligoland party, which objects to German rule—the new Heligoland party not being yet in existence. The Heligolanders are a square-built race, akin in dress and looks to our East Coast fishermen, with faces seared brick-red by the salt wind. They

**Say Little, but They Do Not Like it.**

They do not like the police, they do not like the regulations. They do not like the guts of their island torn out to make fortifications, which they must not walk over. They do not like a lump of their island to fall into the sea when the heavy guns are fired: there is not much of the island, and all there is they want. They do not like the prospect of sending their sons away for three years to serve a sovereign whose quarrels are not theirs. Only the iron heel is down in Heligoland, and human nature must be squeezed out.

Heligoland stands all by itself in the sea, its people have their own little history and traditions and ways, their own German-Danish-Dutch-English speech. But they are part of the German Empire now, and in the German Empire there is only room for the one pattern. Poor little Heligoland, melting away into the German Ocean!

**THE GERMAN ARMY**

The German Army is the most perfectly adapted, perfectly running machine. Never can there have been a more signal triumph of organisation over complexity. The armies of other nations in days past may have been as well organised, but the problem of organisation was infinitely less complex. The armies of other nations to-day may be as complex, but they are not so completely organised. To quote a friend, "in the French, the Austrian, the Italian services, it works, but it works not with oil." *The German Army is the finest thing of its kind in the whole world; it is the finest thing in Germany of any kind. It is even worth the price that Germany pays for it.*

To the Germans themselves the Army is the cause and the justification of the whole nation. Comment to a German on the want of personal liberty in some little detail of daily life, and he counters at once with an appeal to the army. "Yes,

**It Is No Doubt Annoying**

to an Englishman to have to wait on a railway platform until the guard tells him he may get in; but then you must remember that we have powerful military nations on both frontiers." To the English mind the logic is ridiculous; to the German it is irrefragable. He accepts the dragooning of his country as a necessary correlative to the efficiency of his army. He may approve or he may disapprove. "I belong to it," said an officer to me, "and, belonging to it, I see what a splendid thing it is, and I'm very proud of it; but I see also that it is the ruin of everything else in Germany." But even to this exceptional officer it did not seem to occur that civil life need not be cut to the military pattern. For good or evil the Army is Germany.

Germany pays dear for it, and the year's military budget represents only the smallest fraction of the burden. Two or three years out of the life of every working man, one year out of the life of everybody else, eight weeks a year for five years more, the whole lives of 30,000 of the best men in the country—these are only the most obvious of the other items. Germany pays cruelly, but also gets something back. To the English eye the German private appears lumpish and stupid. Heavy in form, heavy in face, he just does what he is told to do, like a rather clumsy machine. At the manœuvres you may see whole companies, when they are not ordered to march or fire, lying down with their faces on the ground, not taking the dimmest interest in the operations which are the test and crown of their whole year's work. Yet if they are dull, you may safely say that, without their years of service, they would be duller yet. *Take your peasant for two years into a garrison with a company of 120 others,*

**Teach Him Drill**

*and discipline, show him at least a corner of the*



**THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY***(Continued)*

world; he will not go back quite the clod he came. No doubt the quickening of his wits has primary regard to military operations; at the manoeuvres it was a revelation to see the peasants turn out of their huts and drop their carting, to see the keenness with which they followed the troops, recognising the name, the nature, and intention of each evolution. Seeing this, you began to understand what the phrase "a military nation" means. But it is safe to conclude that the man whose intelligence is sharpened to the point of following and understanding military manoeuvres is sharpened in his appreciation of other sides of life also. In the towns, where the mind does not need the stimulus of military training, the good of it works out in the body. The years of service are the only healthy ones in the German's life; they stiffen him out of a flaccid boy into a straight-shouldered man. In after life he may degenerate into a bear-barrel, but it takes years to get the soldierly set out of his limbs. Returning from Germany, you will find it almost painful to walk about London. What business have these slouching, stooping, chestless young men in an Imperial city?

But, good influence or bad on the country, that is not the question. The country exists for the army, not the army for the country. In the army German thoroughness, German industry, German common-sense, German devotion to duty, are found at their full. From the chief of the great general staff to the driver of the field telegraph waggon every man knows what he has to do, and every man does it.

**There is Some Definite Person**

charged with every possible service that war might require. To find out about foreign armies, to determine what force, applied in what way, is necessary to defeat them, to raise and train that force, to supply it with arms, ammunition, food, clothing, saddlery, medical attendance, to move it from one place to another, to lead it into the field—the details of every function have been thought out beforehand, and have been provided for.

"Suppose war should suddenly break out," I said to an officer on leave, "I suppose you make for your regiment at once?"

"No," he replied; "if war breaks out I go at once to Niederschlossburg. There are certain horses there that I have to requisition."

"Do you know exactly where to lay your hands on them?"

He smiled.

"Should I be of any use if I didn't?" he asked.

No waiting in war-time to ask what is wanted, and then find it; he just goes and gets the horses.

Briefly, the difference between the German and, for instance, the English armies is a simple one.

The German army is organised with a view to war, with the cold, hard, practical, businesslike purpose of winning victories. The question what show it makes in the eyes of Germany or the world comes a long way second; absolute efficiency is its one and only test. In Germany you can stake your life that every penny spent on the army is spent honestly, and that every man, or horse, or cartridge that is on the paper is there in fact. And that, what with official corruption and lassitude, and a desire to put off public opinion, is what you cannot be certain of in any other nation on earth. The British Army, we know, is ready to go anywhere and do anything; but when we say that we are talking only of the temper of its officers and men. In the German army the men are ready; and the plan, the railway-carriages, the gas for the war balloons, and the nails for the horseshoes are all ready, too.

In the manoeuvres you could see the system in action, in the snap and go and dash at every point. The men looked bumpkins, but they were bumpkins drilled into unswerving, unhesitating obedience. A battery was surprised by infantry fire; one word, and the guns were in line, the limbers were unhooked and falling behind, the guns were whipped round, and flashing imaginary shell before you quite realised that the battery was there. The cavalry came into line like the turn of a kaleidoscope. The infantry opened fire, charged, fell back, lined up, and opened fire again, charged again, on either side, like a smart rally at tennis. No officer was content to rest on the defensive; a glimpse of an opening, and he was up at the enemy. The captain knew his company; he has made it; and his career depended on the way he made it. Each higher officer knew what he could do with what he had. Within that limit he was untrammelled in the doing of it, and could give his whole heart and head freely to doing it with the intensest energy. It impressed you as a mighty, resistless machine, all in one piece, and yet working quite freely in every joint. Each wheel seemed flying round on its own account, yet you could see that the guides and connecting rods—smooth, well oiled, but fast fixed—were combining and regulating the whole.

*Nothing overlooked, nothing neglected, everything practised, everything welded together, and yet everything alive and fighting. The highest unity with the most strenuous individuality. The army is a machine, yet the men remain men. And what should we ever do if 100,000 of this kind of army got loose in England? Volunteers? Good Lord!*

**THE GERMAN ORGANISATION**

The Germans lavish so much of themselves on the small and ordinary things of life that they can have nothing to spare for the greater. If a



## THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

steamer goes faster than another steamer they never speak of it but as a "fast steamer," and then what word is left for the Wilhelm der Grosse? The very Kaiser could not possibly improve on his sour solemnity of aspect

### Were it Never so Necessary;

if he ever had a tragic, an immortal moment, a new retreat from Moscow, or a new surrender of Sedan, he could not look any more impressive than he does when he is going out for a drive. Germany to-day is so loaded with monuments, showing that she conquered France in 1870, that if she now conquered the whole world there would be no room to commemorate the feat. *All this makes you wonder. Everything is so complete, so mapped out, so tensely strong every day that you wonder what would happen in an unforeseen and unfamiliar crisis. Would not everything break down? Every moment, over every rifle, Germany seems to be doing every jot it knows; if it were called on to do more, could there be any more forthcoming?*

The knockabout adventurous race of Britain has this tradition: that when the moment of need comes every subaltern will command a regiment, every voter will form a Ministry. He has never done it before, he seems to have no particular qualification for it, but—he does it. Somehow or other, against all the rules, he pulls it through. He has a reserve of strength—yes, and even of tact—stored away somewhere, and at the supreme moment it comes into play. Has the German? For the affirmative it must be said that the German, being of a cautious and very practical turn, succeeds as a colonist in new lands better than any countryman, except the Scotsman. And yet—it may be unreasonable—the doubt remains. Except in the army, the German has flung himself headlong into the details of so narrow, so straitly circumscribed a sphere that you are bound to believe the initiative must be in some degree starved within him. He concentrates himself so thoroughly on doing what he is told that you are bound to wonder how much he could do if he were not told.

### DOWN WITH ENGLAND!

William II. is not, as I have explained already, adored by all his subjects. But at one point he gathers up the blind devotion of the younger part of them, and the enthusiastic approval of all. That point is patriotism, which the German people, most rightly, regard as the first qualification of a German emperor. Frederick III. squandered all his hoard of popularity during the three months of his reign because he was believed to be led by his English wife. William II. recoups his heavy debts of personal unpopularity because he is beyond suspicion and

beyond measure German. His whole life is a perpetual chant of "Deutschland, Deutschland, uber Alles." He adds the corollary, "Wilhelm, Wilhelm, uber Deutschland"; but Germany, on the whole, is quite willing to pay for the practical enforcement of the first sentiment with quiet acquiescence in the second.

The depth and fervour of the Kaiser's Germanism needs no excuse and no witness. Everything about him must be German—except, to be sure, his racing yacht, and trifles of that kind. It is true that he has many English tastes. But when the Germans cite that as a sign of his benevolence towards England, I think they are more polite than discerning. Unquestionably, the Kaiser admires us in many ways; but I think he imitates us in some, with a view

### To Naturalise in His Own Country

what he thinks valuable, the better to equip her for rivalry with us. He would like to see his nobility and officers sportsmen, to see his middle class tintured with the spirit of the merchant-adventurer—very properly, from his point of view. On other points he is said to be even fanatically German. I pass over such tittle-tattle as that he once wrote to his mother to say that if she wished him to answer her letter, she must write in German, not in English. It is said, though, that he cannot tolerate a French menu, so that the wretched cooks of the Royal household have had to invent German names for every dish they send to table. In the best hotels of Berlin you will find a menu in German on one side, French on the other—for the very German does not know what "Beef, loin piece, Niederschlossberg way" might mean till he sees it translated, "Filet bearnaise," on the other side. As for the Kaiser, they say his zeal for the German language goes so far that he cannot even do with the imported word "cigar." Instead, he endowed his people with the alternatives, "glim-stick" and "smoke-roll." Neither masterpiece is yet generally accepted.

*These are all straws, to be sure, but they show which way the wind blows. More outspoken are the Kaiser's many references to "Greater Germany," his frequent unmistakable hints that he aspires to have his country one of the great Imperial influences of the world. It is this that brings him up against England.*

Rivalry in projects of colonisation and empire—these, beyond question, are the chief springs that feed German hostility towards England.

Hostility, of course, could not have waxed and flourished as it has without a fertile soil to grow in. Competition in South Africa, or for the Peruvian export trade, is not enough to make two nations hate each other. As in England the Kaiser's telegram was the occasion, but the German clerk the real cause, of anti-German hatred, so with Germany

### THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

the groundwork of dislike was the utter antipathy and repugnance with which the German regards our manners and national character. Both as a nation and as individuals the Germans detest us. True, they water their detestation with a sneaking admiration for our sports, our athletics, our clothes. In the German sporting papers you will meet such a sentence as "Trainer Brown, wird die letzten Galops seiner Cracks selbst leiten; sein First-string, Little Duck, wird für die Chesterfield Stakes starten." But meet the man who talks this sort of language, and dresses in the nearest he can get to a covert coat, and tell him he looks like an Englishman. In his heart he will rejoice, but he will pretend to be insulted. With the German Anglomaniac, as with the Kaiser, it is some of our ways, not our whole selves, that are to be imitated. . . .

External antipathy is a far more potent factor in national relations than the inner sympathy. Few experience the last; all can feel and resent the first. Therefore it is that an anti-English policy in Germany starts with the prodigiously strong leverage of national dislike.

Now to hark back to policy. "Our Kaiser," said one of my German friends, "is one of the greatest men in history. He has the clear eye and the strong will. He sees the time for the Continental policy is gone by; first of Germans, he pursues a world-policy while all the other nations have pursued Continental policy; England has had no rival. From now on we Germans pursue a world-policy also.

"To do this is

#### The Greatness of Our Kaiser.

But, alas! nowhere is this greatness less appreciated than in Germany."

That is true. For the German colonies, even the strongest Bismarckians have little to say. They will faintly suggest that there may be valuable land in the interior of Damaraland, where nobody has been, but they will hardly allege that much has been done with their colonies so far. Outside the ruling Prussian circles most people will be in favour of giving them up. As for the strong Navy, which is the essential condition of world-policy, the people, as a whole, are dead against spending the money. They say they spend quite enough on the Army for one nation, and they call the Kaiser "Yondol-Willy," which is Berlinese for "Willy the Boatman."

"But I am thinking," pursued my friend when I offered these remarks, "that some day we shall have the Dutch colonies also—not by force, but because we must naturally absorb Holland. And then"—his mouth watered before my eyes—"what rich colonies. It will be well worth the Fleet. And though we can never be a naval Power like England, yet, together with France and Russia, and two corps—

*only two corps—landed in England we would take London, my friend."*

Germany, France, and Russia! I would not say positively this is what the Kaiser is working for, but certainly it is what his warmest sympathisers believe him to be working for. For myself, I believe it, too. For years now he has been trying to draw nearer to France and Russia, and the public announcement of the Franco-Russian alliance is no real set-back to the design. Continental alliance against Britain—that is the dream, the daily preoccupation of all Imperialist Germans. It is some little way off yet, because even the Kaiser dare not give back Metz in the lifetime of the men who bled at Gravelotte. "But it will come, my friend, and where will you and your Navy be then?"

"Yes, where shall we be?"

(NOTE.—Subsequent, though fruitless, machinations of the Kaiser to persuade France and Russia to join him against England proved the foresight of Mr. Steevens's predictions.)

Politically, as well as industrially, Germany has sown her wild oats. There

#### Will Be No German Revolution

in the visible future. Particularism, as I have said, is dying hard, but inevitably dying. Socialism is not the covered mine which many people suppose it. The German mind is given to reckless theorising about ideal states of society as about all other ideals, but the German workman is not the man for barricades. He is not unprosperous, and though he is undeniably discontented, he is making slow but sure progress in his political aims. In practice, the German Socialist is not more than a Radical trade unionist, and as such he is making a steady advance towards his ends. In the near future he will probably maintain that advance, so that the very strengthening of Social Democracy will make it less discontented and less dangerous. Most Germans would deny this; yet I have talked with many who admit it freely.

One difficulty may be foreseen—the question of the Navy. If the Kaiser insists, and the Reichstag refuses, there is the making of a serious internal situation. If next year's new Reichstag defies the Kaiser, and is dissolved, and the next Reichstag is again defiant, we may see a complete deadlock, and a constitutional crisis. But neither the Kaiser's impetuosity nor his people's obstinacy are likely to force crisis to revolution. There is likely to be much friction and faction in the immediate future, as there has been in the past. *But there will be no revolution in Germany.*

*Germany, that means, will keep her hands free to deal with us.*

#### Let Us Make No Mistake

*about it. It is natural to deplore the unfriendship of the two nations, but it is idle to ignore it. Hostility to England is the mission of young Germany.*



## THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

*It is idle to ignore it, but we need be neither furious nor panic-stricken. It is as much Germany's right to seek after the good things of the earth as it is ours. It is proper that we should be plain with ourselves, and admit that for the time Germany is our chiefest rival in all fields. We can be competitors without being enemies. Only in the honest effort to avoid enmity we need not cease to compete. Be very sure, at least, that methodical, patient, unrelenting Germany will make no such mistake. So, for the next ten years, fix your eyes very hard on Germany.*

October 21st.

### Trafalgar Anniversary

The history of our race is not yet written. There is combat before us in the future, combat fierce and furious. We hold the mastery of the sea still, but our empire of the waters is menaced by forces more dangerous than have ever been accumulated against it since Nelson's famous battle was fought. How shall we better prepare for the trial that lies before us than by recalling the triumphs of the past, and implanting in the hearts of the Englishmen of our generation the glorious lesson of Trafalgar.

December 7th.

Berlin correspondent:

*"With an all-powerful Army and a strong Navy, the German Emperor's reputed hatred for England may go to lengths which no one can foretell."*

It was at this time that Count von Buelow first put forward the German claim to "a place in the sun."

December 16th.

From an article reprinted from the "Gaulois":

*"Germany is now able to build not only as well, but as fast as England, and her new policy has changed from a defensive to an offensive direction. . . . Her rival is England."*

December 17th.

It is easy to make merry over the German Emperor, but he knows what he is about, and his absurdities are no laughing matter. Just as the Mark of Brandenburg has grown to a mighty Empire by dint of hard work, wise organisation, and the persistent adoption of the best means to that end, so the German Empire is extending its powers from European to world-wide importance.

### The "Mailed Fist" Speech

Kiel Banquet, on the departure of Prince Henry of Prussia to assume command of the Second Division of German China Squadron.

The Kaiser:

Should, however, anyone ever attempt to affront us or prejudice us in our good rights, then strike out with your mailed fist, and, if God willing, weave round your brow the laurel wreath which no one in the German Empire will begrudge you.

Prince Henry's reply:

I am only animated by one desire, to proclaim and spread abroad to all who will hear, as well as to those who will not, the gospel of your Majesty's sacred person. This I will have inscribed on your banner and will bear it wherever I go. I raise my glass and call upon those who, with me, enjoy the happy privilege of being permitted to go forth, to remember this day to impress the person of the Emperor on their minds, and to let the cry resound far out into the world—Our most Serene, Mighty, Beloved Emperor, King and Master, for ever and ever. Hurrah! Hurrah!!

Extract from German Press:

*"Since 1870 Germany has resolutely remained on the defensive. But the time has come for the German Eagle to spread out its wings once more and show the world what it can do."*

# 1898

## The Prussian View of Invasion

From Army reform articles, by Sir Charles Dilke. January 28th, 1898, and February 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th.

With regard to invasion, I might plead that successive Governments and their military advisers have admitted its possibility, that the military authorities of the great Continental military Powers have always pronounced it to be feasible, and have, with much frankness, explained to us by what means it could be carried out. Voltaire had not lived with Frederick the Great for nothing, and knew a good many modern maxims of war. He says: "Always do what your enemy fears that you may possibly dare to attempt. Luck gives one a single time the chance of a decisive blow."

That is the Prussian military view with regard to the invasion of this country.

## The Sower of Tares

During the Eastern tour of the Kaiser in August, the Fashoda crisis arose between England and France. The Kaiser suddenly left Beyrout and announced that he would call at various Spanish ports in his yacht. The world took this as a move against Great Britain and America. The Spanish commissioners were at that time resisting the American demands.

The "Neues Wiener Tageblatt":

The Kaiser's visit may well be regarded as an affront to British supremacy in Egypt.

August 9th.

## Spy Pigeons Again

A great flight of German carrier pigeons was started yesterday morning at Dover on a 300 mile race to Düsseldorf and other German towns. The birds were contained in sixty-three crates, and in all they numbered very little short of 2,000. They were liberated by two German gentlemen. One of them is said to be a Government agent.

It is believed that the birds were flown under the auspices of the German War Office.

August 11th.

The flying of German carrier pigeons wholesale from the vicinity of a British fortress is unquestionably a breach of international etiquette. There is no other country where the Government is so careless of the interests

of national defence and so apathetic as to permit this kind of experiment on so colossal a scale.

The attention of Parliament is required. A Bill should be introduced forbidding the flying of pigeons within a certain distance of all fortresses, and only permitting the introduction of foreign pigeons where British pigeon-flyers were granted corresponding facilities. Moreover, each pigeon imported should be registered, and an official should attend at the foreign flyer's expense to see that all are liberated. It is useless for the Government to control the telegraphs and cables in the event of war if spies can send intelligence by means of pigeon post.

## The Harmless Pigeon

*To some the harmless pigeon may seem unworthy of this attention. But the truth is that this bird has become as much a part of foreign and British signal services as the semaphores to be found upon the headlines of all coasts. We should certainly not permit foreign semaphores to be established along our seaboard, and therefore it is not obvious why we should tolerate foreign pigeon-cotes.*

August 12th.

While the British authorities are slowly and painfully preparing to move in the great pigeon affair, Germany, alert as usual, and well-informed as usual, has already acted. The flying of foreign carrier pigeons, we read, has been prohibited in the neighbourhood of Kiel, Ploen, Eckernford, and Heligoland; in other words, wherever there is a German naval station.

November 11th.

## Room for Germany

As a colonial Power, Germany will not find England an exacting neighbour. We do not want the whole earth, as Continental journalists sometimes absurdly pretend, and there is certainly room for Germany in many directions. If she is anxious to do in the Near East the work which England is accomplishing in Egypt, there is no reason why she should not try her hand. If she wants coaling stations her acquisition of them will arouse no British jealousy.



# 1899

January 12th.

## THE GERMAN NAVY

Early in 1899 the "Daily Mail" again called attention to the increase of the German Navy and the determination that inspired it.

There are to be no fresh additions in 1899 to the German naval programme at present being carried out, but, as this programme involves a heavy and increasing expenditure, this is not to be wondered at. The country is determined to have a strong fleet, and, after all, patriotism and interest in the navy must be strong when the German Navy League has over 50,000 members. Moreover, what there is of the navy in actual existence is heavily armed, well organised, and admirably drilled.

March 2nd.

## The Kaiser's Marital Chivalry!

While Professor Fritz August von Kaulbach was painting the portrait of the Empress, the Kaiser, who was in the best of spirits, entered the room and made some remarks about the colour of the dress worn by the Empress, which, in his opinion, "did not allow of minute treatment by the artist's brush, the shades being too dark, and not pronounced enough."

The Empress evidently did not share this opinion, and tried to dissuade her "dear William." She succeeded at last, but when the Emperor left shortly afterwards, he laughingly turned to the professor and said:

"Machen Sie sie nur nicht zu alt, lieber Kaulbach." ("Don't make her too old, I beg, my dear Kaulbach.")

April 14th.

## The Budget

*If we economised in armaments and cancelled a great block of Consols, the certain result would be that we should have to pay not millions but hundreds of millions to an external enemy.*

April 20th.

## Imperial Insurance

The "Daily Mail" has repeatedly pointed out that expenditure on the Army and Navy constitutes an Imperial insurance fund. . . . Both Army and Navy need strengthening; it would be sheer madness for England to check the growth of her armaments, her naval armaments more especially, so long as the Continental Powers continue to increase theirs.

December 12th.

## Increase of Germany's Navy

The Navy Bill which Prince Hohenlohe, the German Chancellor, yesterday announced would be submitted to the Reichstag, is a measure which, broadly speaking, will entail the expenditure of £17,000,000. Germany has now seventeen battleships constructed or in course of construction, and if this Bill passes, their number is to be doubled. It is a large programme, but one which will in every probability be accepted, for the German Navy League, which has now on its roll fifty thousand members, has conducted a systematic campaign against the opposition which in former years was displayed against a liberal naval policy.

# 1900

January 1st.

## A NEW VOLUME

Before us opens an age of fierce competition, in which our ascendancy will be challenged in all directions. The highest statesmanship, the acutest foresight, the utmost business capacity will be required if that ascendancy is not to be lost, and if England is not slowly to dwindle to a second-rate Power. It is not in the field of arms that we shall have to fight the hardest, though here, too, it is vital for us to adopt that cool calculation, systematic organisation, and spirit of self-sacrifice which have in this generation secured for Germany such greatness. . . . Our War Office has failed to provide our Army with the best and latest engines of war; our Admiralty has been slow to provide the speedy cruisers needed for the defence of our commerce; our Board of Trade has suffered the merchant service to be depleted of British seamen.

January 2nd.

## War Office Excuses

"If we are obliged to stake the blood of our people against our enemies in the field, then we are also bound to provide them with the best weapons of offence and defence which money can procure."—BISMARCK.

Newspaper criticism improved the transport and secured the enrolment of Colonial troops. Public opinion can, in the same way, induce the Government immediately to secure some of the Krupp and Schneider-Canet guns and ammunition which were ordered by the Boer Government, which are now ready for instant use, and full particulars of which the "Daily Mail" will be most happy to afford the War Office.

January 4th.

## German Spies in England

Our readers should have no delusions on this point. Our strength and our deficiencies are very accurately known to at least four Governments—much more accurately, indeed, than is comprehended by the English people. For some eighteen years the German Intelligence Office has provided its Government with ordnance maps of England, charts of our coast, plans of every harbour, every railway, road, lane, and each source of water supply. These maps are brought up to date each year. It is, indeed, from the German and other foreign military papers that one learns more about our

national defences than from the home Press. . . . *The invasion of England is one of the stock military topics in Germany. Every German officer has his own little bit of England marked off upon which he has been examined.*

February 23rd.

## The Hour of Preparation

It is not for South Africa alone that we must go on. Great Powers look with greediness on our prosperous dominions, our world-wide dependencies. A sudden change of a Continental ministry, or the death of a great ruler, may force on us a conflict compared with which our present campaign will appear trifling. The more unready we are the more likely is such a conflict to come. There is a time to prevent it by preparing. Such preparation takes time. A soldier is not disciplined and taught to shoot in a week; the construction of guns and the training of gunners take many months. Every military expert agrees that the nation which leaves preparation for war till war is on her is hopelessly handicapped. *This is our hour of preparation; to-morrow may be the day of world-wide conflict.*

March 2nd.

The "Daily Mail" commented on the reception by the foreign Press of the relief of Ladysmith, and called attention to the fact that German lucubrations continued as violent and hostile to Great Britain as ever.

March 13th.

It was urged that the South African war had shown our need for a mobile force available for foreign service.

March 20th.

## England and Her Colonies

In a leading article it was emphasised that the South African struggle had proved in a most conclusive manner the strength and reality of the Imperial ties. Hitherto, outside England, there was no great certainty felt that the great self-governing colonies would stand side by side with the Motherland in the hour of danger and trial. Foreign authors of imaginary wars, in which the British were supposed to be fighting for their existence, had always represented her Colonies as seceding and claiming their own independence. This was because the foreigner has always been profoundly ignorant of the relations which have



existed between England and her Colonies. In a struggle in which the interests of the great Colonies were involved—and we shall never fight except under those conditions—we should have the whole energy of these new communities, each a State in itself, at our backs.

April 25th.

#### A PROPHECY OF THE SUBMARINE'S FUTURE

**"If it could be demonstrated that a really practicable submarine boat had been constructed, the effect would be to revolutionise naval warfare."**

May 4th.

#### The Council of the Empire

Great tasks lie before us, great responsibilities have to be borne.

It is for the power, the greatness, the supremacy of this Empire, that we have stood. In the heart of every Englishman has dawned the consciousness that a still greater destiny awaits us. The glorious pages of yesterday in our history are to be succeeded by brighter achievements of to-morrow. Ours is no limited task. If the burdens of Empire are great, the results are worthy.

We have never thought it our duty to hush up unpleasant truths. We know that real strength must rest on a solid foundation. Therefore, we have at all times spoken plainly about national shortcomings, for we care too much for England to gloss over defects by which her supremacy is endangered. The policy of the "Daily Mail" has found a responsive echo on every side. The glorious vision of a new era has come to many men. The turmoil of the present, the grief, the loss, the anxiety of to-day will pass. In the near future is coming the greater Empire, in which all England's sons in all the seven seas shall share in England's work. The day is coming when from the far West and the distant South our sons shall come to the council of the Empire, and when we shall stand, against every foe, a united people. It is for this end that the "Daily Mail" has striven, and, as the splendid loyalty of the Colonies in our present need attests, has striven not in vain.

September 6th.

#### The Lost Atlantic Record

There is another and more serious aspect of this victory of the German mercantile marine. Such ships as the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse,

Kaiser Wilhelm II., Deutschland, and Kronprinz Wilhelm, have a prodigious naval value. They have two points in their favour—a coal supply with which no cruiser as yet designed can compare, and a speed which enables them to show a clean pair of heels to the fastest creations of the naval constructor. Imagine these four ships turned loose upon British commerce, and reflect that we have nothing whatever, whether in our merchant service or in our Navy, which could overtake them. If the bare suggestion does not cause uneasiness, it is because the reader does not realise the intense vulnerability of our British trade, or the vast superiority of the great ocean liner, in the matter of fast steaming and seaworthiness, to even the best of cruisers.

October 12th.

#### Speech of the Kaiser

(Laying of foundation-stone of the Imperial Museum at Saalburg.)

I strike the first stroke on this stone to the memory of Kaiser Friedrich, and the second stroke to the German youth of the coming generation, who here in this museum will learn what a world empire means, and the third stroke to the future of our *German Fatherland*, that it *may be destined in the future times by the united co-operation of our princes and peoples, their armies and their burghers, to become as strongly and firmly welded and as commanding as was once the Roman world empire, so that in the future it may be said, as in old times, "Civis Romanus sum."*

October 16th.

#### Germany—Slow and Sure

(Germany, instigated by the immensely powerful German Navy League, acquired coaling stations in the Red Sea from the Sultan of Turkey.)

Not without purpose has Germany been pro-Boer throughout the present war. The system and care with which Germany is laying the foundation of her sea power merit attention in England. Already in Africa she has sites for coaling stations in Togoland, the Kamerun, South-West Africa, and German East Africa. In the West Indies the fear that she might obtain from Holland Curacoa already causes anxiety in the United States. *But Germany will go slowly and surely. She is not in a hurry; her preparations are quietly and systematically made; it is no part of her object to cause general alarm, which might be fatal to her designs.*

October 29th.

### **Germany and the C.I.V.**

(From Berlin Correspondent.)

The remarkable outburst of enthusiasm in London over the return of the C.I.V.'s has evoked much comment here, the greater part being of an adverse kind. In fact, the cartoon issued by the satirical journal, "Simplicissimus" (of Munich), at the time of the departure of the C.I.V.'s, and now republished, perhaps hits off the general feeling. This represents a sort of chaotic Bank Holiday march through the City, immature youths of the weediest type being escorted along by unprepossessing female friends, who are shouting in mad discord, and even carrying the Volunteers' rifles.

Indeed, many critics go so far as to regard the enthusiasm which has recently been so conspicuously manifested in Britain as indicating a change for the worse in the national character, as a symptom of degeneration, as an evidence that the nation is losing its grip of the finer qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race.

To the austere military German mind, however, the Volunteers were despatched on a species of picnic; they were to be kept in the safety of the background at the seat of war,

and then brought home with as much glory as possible. But probably no German yet fully appreciates the good work they have done, and few Germans certainly can understand the welcome they are receiving.

There is small room for appreciation by the average German mind of the great principle underlying the formation of the regiment; a principle which the welcome in London is intended to emphasise even more than the gallantry of the men who have so conspicuously placed it on record.

December 13th.

### **The Implacable Kaiser**

Count von Buelow: "I can state in the most emphatic manner possible that neither from the British Court, nor from the British Government, has any wish or any proposal been offered, either to the Emperor or to me, as the responsible Chancellor, regarding Mr. Kruger's journey or our attitude towards the war in South Africa.

"To suppose that the Emperor would allow himself to be influenced by his family connections shows little comprehension of his Majesty's character or of his patriotic feeling."



# 1901

January, 1st.

## "Lest We Forget"

It may be that certain events of the closing years of the old century have taught us a less confident and presumptuous note than heretofore. We have seen our armies checked, as they were never checked in all the earlier years of the century, by an apparently insignificant enemy. We are aware that we are bitterly envied and hated by the world, and that at this very critical moment in some inscrutable manner the old fire of energy seems to be waning within us. *We are entering stormy seas, and the time may be near when we shall have to fight in very truth for our life, "neath novel stars beside a brink unknown."* Some there are who question whether England will survive the terrible conflict. *If we are worthy of our great place in the world we shall boldly face the question and not blink it because it is unpalatable.*

January 17th.

## Something Like a League

The German Navy League, which was founded in 1898 upon lines similar to the British Navy League, has evidently made vast strides in a very short time, as it is stated that it has now 600,000 members and associates.

January 19th

## The Kaiser and the German Navy

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the bicentenary celebrations of Prussia is the earnest utterances of the Kaiser on the navy. The army has been eulogised—that was to be expected—but that the increase of the navy is the subject, perhaps, dearest to the Kaiser's heart no one can fail to perceive.

The German Fleet may be relatively slow of growth, but the Kaiser intends to place it at the very forefront of the world's navies. The conviction is growing that it is his life's work, and his notorious energy will go far towards achieving his end.

February 8th.

The German Navy is a force of the utmost importance. Though still small in numbers, it is perfectly organised. There is nothing to criticise adversely; nothing is overlooked; nothing is neglected. The officers are competent, zealous, and instructed; the men are of good physique,

drill smartly, and are cheerful and contented; the ships are excellent. An enormous programme of construction is now in course of execution, and is being rapidly and systematically carried out. "First ships, and then coaling stations," said one captain to me. When the ships are finished, as they will be in the next ten years, Germany will have to fear no comparisons. In her own tongue, her navy is "ganz gut!"

February 9th.

## When Blucher Won Waterloo

Not only the anti-English and pan-German papers, but the influential and sober-minded Conservative journals, are showing irritation at the bestowal by the Kaiser of the Order of the Black Eagle on Lord Roberts and his Majesty's speech thanking King Edward for making him Field-Marshal.

The "Reichsbote," the organ of the Orthodox Protestants and the Empress's favourite newspaper, remarks: "The Kaiser is very much mistaken in dwelling emphatically on Lord Roberts's merits. Neither the nation nor the army share his views. The Emperor, as chief of the German Army, stands high above Wellington, who was saved at Waterloo by Blucher, and is certainly above Lord Roberts, who is seriously misjudged by the South African situation."

March 7th

## Army Reform

Germany changes, re-models, with a relentless energy, sacrificing everything to efficiency. Only last year, by one stroke of the pen, Kaiser Wilhelm re-cast the organisation of his navy because he was not satisfied with the results it produced.

March 25th.

## Chestnuts Out of the Fire

Europe and the world would have rejoiced to see Russia and Great Britain fly at each other's throat over this Chinese dispute. England would annihilate the Russian Navy, but Russia would smash the British forces in Asia and annex India and Burma. The two rivals would fight until their strength was exhausted. Then they would cease, with shattered armies and navies, and would find that Germany had profited by the interval and become mistress of the world on the land and on the ocean.—"Rundschau" (Vienna).

June 18th.

### Divergent Opinions

Mr. Winston Churchill, at that time a frequent contributor, writing in the "Daily Mail" an article entitled "The Only Way," contended that as England was a maritime and not a military nation, all possible funds should be allocated to the Navy, that the Army was getting an undue proportion, and that "we must view military expenditure with a jealous and critical eye."

"What is the irreducible minimum of our military strength? We are spending more than we ought upon the Army, a greater proportion of our income than we can do, having regard to our own safety.

"We want a Regular Army, first, to supply our great garrison and coaling stations abroad; secondly, as a training school at home; thirdly, for little native wars; fourthly, as the backbone of the civil power; and, lastly, to hold the land defences of certain harbours in England. We want it for nothing else.

"We do not want a regular Army for the defence of this island, or for foreign war with European Powers, and we ought not to raise troops for either purpose."

Commenting thereon, the "Daily Mail," while agreeing on the paramount importance of the Navy, said:

*England must remember a fact with which Mr. Churchill does not deal—that the Navy is a purely defensive force, and cannot end a war. We must be able to strike, as well as to ward off blows, unless in the contests which the future may force upon us we are content to see hostilities languish on for an indefinite period. The less that is spent upon home defence, the more that is spent upon a mobile field force, the better. "Defence, not defiance," is our old motto; but if compelled to defend ourselves, we must also be able to defy.*

July 8th.

Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of the German Emperor, formally received his commission as an officer in the First Regiment of the Guards.

In a speech on the occasion, the Emperor said:

The Prince to-day enters upon the duties of life for which he has prepared himself. The noblest task is the defence of the Fatherland, the noblest weapon is the sword, and the noblest uniform is the Prussian soldier's.

August 6th.

### Death of the Empress Frederick

A leading article of the "Daily Mail" adverted to the antipathy against her (because she was English) of Bismarck, "who, with all his greatness, never showed any chivalrous regard for women. He pursued her with intrigue and resentment, though her attitude had from first to last been faultless, and though she espoused the cause of her husband's country with enthusiasm. But the great Minister never forgave her for being English by birth and nationality."

The "Daily Mail" alluded to the bitterness felt against England so long ago as 1888, as evinced in the cruelty of Germans and the German Press to the Empress.

September 18th.

### A Picture of the German Officer

(By Chas. E. Hands.)

You cannot miss seeing him. He takes up a great deal of space, both individually and collectively. He is exceedingly taking to the eye, very stalwart and upright, frank of face, but fierce of upbrushed moustache, blue eyed and fair complexioned, but with a most impressive air of conscious authority and greatness. Big and handsome, most carefully groomed, and most gorgeously apparelled, it is not surprising that English lady visitors to Homburg, even those who are very good tennis-players indeed, should be quite willing to condescend to teach him the game.

His authoritative dignity is so great that he does not seem to forgo anything of it even when he is drinking beer out of a long glass. The respect and deference he commands are wonderful to see. Civilians, even compatriots of distinction, on entering the dining-room bow to him with formal humility. He acknowledges the obeisances only with a rigid glare of haughty indifference, though he is politely conscious of the coming and going of ladies. The German civilian does not appear to be surprised at, nor to resent, being contemptuously ignored by him, but recognises him and looks up to him as a superior member of a superior race, and continues to make his obeisances, however loftily they are ignored. But while he is unable to see a civilian at whom he is looking point-blank, he never misses observing the entrance and acknowledging the salute of another of his own race. Gog and Magog at the Guildhall could not be more stealthily unconscious of the presence of a county councillor than he



of a mere civilian; the maître d'hôtel at the Carlton could not be more ceremoniously polite on the entrance of a distinguished habitué than he on the appearance of an officer of superior or equal rank. He rises from his seat and stands stiff and erect while the new-comer advances, and exchanges formal bows with each in turn. And as he recovers the erect position from the bow he brings his heels together with a sharp parade click, and waits until his superior has taken a seat before he resumes his own.

September 20th.

### The German Soldier

(Charles E. Hands)

If perfect marching is perfect soldiering, then, without doubt, the German Army is beyond imagination perfect. Each battalion went by as solid as a wall. Personally I am no expert in marching, and the spectacle of a thousand men moving like one, with a thousand right legs elevating to the same angle at the same moment, and then a thousand left legs doing exactly the same, does not thrill me as perhaps it ought. Even when some hundreds of gorgeously dressed girls go through their well-drilled evolutions at Drury Lane, I usually go out of the theatre for a time. But if drill, uniformity, simultaneity make perfect soldiers, here, without doubt, was a perfect army.

It was all very wonderful. But how much would all this kind of perfection avail in war time? Here was a perfectly level field—Lord's ground on a large scale, but still a field—a great body of troops manœuvring in small compass and close order. What would be the value of all that was perfect in the performance if instead of the smooth grass there were boulder-strewn sand? Perhaps every discipline has its value, and this perfect drill might translate into some other perfection if circumstances were changed.

September 21st.

### Worthless British Criticisms

The military "Kreuz Zeitung" was evidently irritated at the British Press criticisms on the German army at recent manœuvres.

The journal remarked that the manœuvres were not directed against a supposed Boer army, that the artillery fire was only suggestive, and that in real warfare the cavalry attacks would never be carried out in the form in which they were at the manœuvres. The object of the manœuvres was to see whether troops in large masses were mobile, and whether their

leaders were skilful and sure in handling large bodies of men.

"As the British have no such kind of manœuvres, and have no conception of their use and object, the British criticisms of them are, from a military standpoint, absolutely worthless."

November 19th.

### The Kaiser and His Navy

Kaiser Wilhelm is a many-sided man, but if there is one subject in which his interest is intense and of which his knowledge is profound, it is his Navy and its welfare. Under his fostering guidance that force has steadily grown of recent years, until it promises in the not distant future to be the formidable rival of our own. It is comparatively small in numbers, but it is admirable in organisation and training; indeed, a model to the world. And its growth is mainly due to the energy of its lord and master, who knows how to infuse into it his own spirit of zeal and enthusiasm. It is certain that the ships which Germany is now building are excellent; whether they are better than ours, as Germany claims, is a matter which can only be proved by war; and this, let us hope, will never come between two kindred peoples, though it is true that of late Germans have been intimating that England requires a naval Sadowa to bring her to wisdom. Meantime the Emperor and most of his people are fully convinced that "Germany's future lies upon the water," and are doing everything to assure that future.

November 20th.

In an article on Germans and the Boer War, the writer said:

The Kaiser is the pivot of the situation, and he knows it. Let me, therefore, utter a most earnest warning against the too generally accepted belief that because he has hitherto exhibited goodwill towards us this may continue indefinitely.

November 21st.

### German Anglophobia

Sympathy with and admiration for the Boers are one thing; another is the stream of calumny poured upon our troops. Ever since the outbreak of the hostilities in 1899 the German Press has allowed itself to be fed with the most abominable falsehoods concerning the behaviour of our soldiers. It is difficult in this respect to acquit the German official world of all responsibility. For in a country where Governmental influence is so widely brought to

bear upon the organs of public opinion, where by no means the least important department in the Foreign Office is the Press Bureau, specially instituted for the education and guidance of the Press, where not only the newspapers commonly described as semi-official, but the majority of respectable newspapers, are amenable to more or less direct control in all questions connected with the foreign policy of the Empire, such a widespread and protracted campaign against a foreign country could hardly have assumed these overwhelming proportions had it not been regarded at first with official tolerance, if not with indulgence. . . .

*These daily manifestations of German hatred, which at first caused surprise rather than indignation, are gradually sinking into the heart of the British people, and it would be an unfortunate day for both nations if the belief were to gain ground in England that, in spite of many common interests and many common traditions, the passionate enmity of the German people must be regarded as a more powerful and permanent*

*factor in moulding the relations of the two countries than the wise and friendly statesmanship of German rulers. (Quoted from "The Times.")*

November 22nd.

#### **If Germany Fought England**

Considerable attention is attracted by a pamphlet published by Baron von Edelsheim, an officer in the chief general staff of the German Army, in which he declares that Germany could throw 100,000 men on the English coast in a very short time. The baron put forward this statement as an absolute certainty, and it is considered somewhat curious that he is permitted by his Government to publish it. His paper proceeds: "England's weakness is our strength. The land forces of the English army correspond neither in strength nor quality with her position as a great Power. England is convinced that every hostile invasion can be prevented by her fleet, but this conviction is not by any means well founded. (Berlin cablegram to "New York Sun.")



# 1902

January 13th.

## An American Opinion

"Where is Germany to-day? Hated beyond measure by the Russians. Disliked more than ever by that country nowadays on account of the Tariff Bill. Highly unpopular in Austria, where the Polish leaders openly call meetings of protest against her treatment of their compatriots, and where the Premier, in reply to diplomatic appeal, says he can do nothing against the movement. Italy almost, according to the Chancellor's admission, wishes to be rid of Germany. England will never forget the attitude of the German people during the Boer War, any more than the Americans, who have memories, can forget that of the German people during the Spanish War. Who are Germany's friends to-day? Spain, Turkey, and Holland! Surely not a grand triumph of international political relationship!" (Quoted from "New York Herald.")

February 15th.

## The Voyage of Prince Henry

In an article, "The Mailyphist," the "Daily Mail," dealing with Prince Henry of Prussia's visit to New York, referred to his memorable Kiel speech before starting for the Far East as a full-fledged Apostle of a Mailed Fist.

The "Daily Mail" terminated:

Such is the gospel of hero-worship which Prince Henry is now, in turn, about to preach to the Americans; while they, on their part, will retaliate by preaching to him, as the "Apostle of the Mailed Fist," the gospel—not according to Mark, but according to Monroe.

February 17th.

To the dulcet strains of many brass bands and the beating of many drums, Prince Henry, on Saturday, embarked at Bremerhaven upon his voyage to the United States. From his journey much is expected by Germans; has not the Kaiser exerted all his efforts to make it a pronounced success? A special Press agent has even been sent out by his Imperial order to chronicle in glowing terms, for the journals of Germany, the Prince's progress.

Further than this, to obtain for him a grateful reception, somewhat gratuitous attempts have even been made to persuade the people of the United States that it was England, and not Germany, who essayed to form an armed coalition against the Government of President McKinley on the eve of the war with Spain. Fortunately, facts are not thus easily to be

distorted when the memory of them is still fresh, and these attempts have been received with incredulity by even those in the United States who are at most times hostile to England. If Germany wishes to prostrate herself before the American people, and to confess that she acted foolishly in 1898, there is no reason why she should not do so. But that is not good cause for endeavouring in this characteristically Bismarekian fashion to estrange England from the United States.

May 31st.

## BLOTTING OUT ENGLAND

The "Daily Mail" gave prominence to a striking article by Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, in the June "National Review," on the Pan-Germanic movement:

It is one of the gravest signs of the times. It is animated by vague passionate sentiments shaped by material interests such as have always marked great religious and political upheavals. The idea of uniting under one Government all the German-speaking people on the Continent of Europe has haunted the imaginations of leading men in Germany for a long time. In 1813 and 1814 it was expressed in many of the stirring ballads which were sung round the watch-fires of Blucher's army.

When Prince Bismarek was dismissed from office, Germany was in a state of extraordinary prosperity, and occupied an international position of exceptional power. Many Germans, however, of high position held that the time had arrived when a policy of a more forward character, and involving persistent efforts for the expansion of Germany, should be adopted. In the year 1892, a remarkable little work was published called "Ein Deutsches Weltreich" ("A German World Empire"). This publication attracted very considerable notice at the time, and its appearance marks the commencement of the Pan-Germanic movement in its present form.

The writer called upon his countrymen to work unceasingly for the union under one political system of all the Continental branches of the German race. He appealed to them to cultivate in all the German countries of Europe the sentiment of a common origin and the desire for political union. He foresaw this propaganda might provoke international trouble and even general war, but care should be taken that a European war should not break out before the minds of men in countries where the people were of German origin were prepared to receive the Pan-Germanic idea.

### The Pan-Germanic League

A short time after the appearance of this little work the Pan-Germanic League, as it is at present, was founded. This was in September, 1894.

In the year 1895, the League had only 7,000 adherents. Since then it has progressed steadily, and it has now nearly 200 centres actively engaged in propagating its doctrines, and what these are may be seen by the Pan-Germanic map, published under the auspices of the League, and showing the future frontiers of the German Empire. *According to the views of Pan-Germans, the German Empire must comprise the whole of Austria with the exception of Galicia and the Bukowina, and must also include Trieste, the Austrian Tyrol, German Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, and even a portion of North-Eastern France. It is graciously proposed not to push the frontier farther north and filch any more territory from Denmark.*

Even more active still, perhaps, is the Pan-Germanic League in displaying

### Hostility to Great Britain

It is exceedingly difficult for the people of this country, from the circumstance that the German language is not widely known amongst us, to understand the intense animosity towards England which prevails in Germany, or to follow the plans for the overthrow of the British Empire.

*According to the German view, the issue between England and Germany is a question of might, like that which decided the relative positions of France and Germany in Europe in 1870. Germany, therefore, is now preparing to wage with England a similar war to that she waged with France. The Pan-Germans are its enthusiastic prophets, but every party or political group in the Empire, even the Socialists, are ready and willing to support every proposal to increase the German Fleet, no matter how enormous the sacrifice may be. They do not conceal what they intend to do with that fleet when occasion serves. Great Britain is to be overthrown. This was proclaimed many years ago by Treitschke. In the year 1884 he wrote: "We have reckoned with France and Austria. The reckoning with England has still to come; it will be the longest and most difficult." He has succeeded in implanting into the hearts of his countrymen a hatred for England equal to his own. "Britannia delenda est" was the motto of Treitschke. He has now passed from this earthly scene, but others of consideration and power preach the same gospel. Men like Herr Albert Schaffle and Debrück, who was the teacher of the present*

*Kaiser, have more than once told the world in unmistakable language how the next great struggle of the Germans will be "a combat for the annihilation of England."*

The Germans begin, however, to realise that they cannot attain their end as easily as they hoped to do. Hence the increasing activity of German diplomacy to make mischief between England and some Great Power. A sound and consistent foreign policy is, therefore, essential to enable us to defeat Pan-Germanic plans for the "annihilation" of England.

### Our Poor Navy

The current number of the "Contemporary Review" contained a translation of an important article by a German writer, Herr Meyer, on the British Navy, which was very widely read in Germany, and which reflected, in some degree, German feeling to this country. The article was bitterly depreciatory, as will be seen from the following extracts:

"Our people have, for a thousand years, dreamed that the earth was a German heritage, and to-day we dream of the world as a German house. Almost every page of history of to-day declares the fact that German shipbuilding has not only achieved the highest excellence, but is now taking the lead in the shipbuilding of the world.

"Nowadays the English Navy is always held up before us as a model, and people din into our ears, with the persistence of a fixed idea, their superstitious alarm at the "overwhelming fleet of England, mistress of the seas." True, indeed, it is that she is immensely superior in ships; but a cool, unbiassed, and critical observer, if he have the nice eye of an expert, sees deeper. At the first glance he will see all sorts of things from which may God preserve our aspiring Navy, which, though capable of growth, lacks developments."

July 24th.

### Anglo-German Relations

A feverish desire for a navy has seized upon the German people like an epidemic. The German Navy League is a great national institution. Fifty paying members in a small German village is not uncommon. Over 600,000 adult members are borne on the books of the German Navy League. Excursion trains are run from Berlin to Kiel. Visits to the warships are advertised in the Berlin papers as inducements.

*The German Navy is looked on by the nation and its ruler as the one hope of the future, and the German Navy League is a means to an end—colonies.*



*The longing for a slice of territory in a temperate climate can only be compared to the longing of a lover for his mistress or of an injured Spaniard for revenge. This is a fact of which the British Government and people would do well to take note.*

It is an axiom in administration that when public affairs are transacted behind closed doors they tend to become the private affairs of the men who transact them. Do we wish to be friends with Germany? If so, surely it is good policy to avoid needless causes of offence. If, on the other hand, the German Navy is a menace to the British Empire, does not common sense dictate the propriety of destroying it before the boy becomes a man, or a giant, as will be the case by 1915?

November 5th.

### THE GERMAN NAVY At Whom is it Aimed?

(By an Englishman in Germany)

Sir William Laird Clowes, in a recent article on this momentous issue, deprecates the suggestion put forward that a demand for explanations should be addressed to Germany, "declaring that unless certain assurances were given or the increase of the German Fleet were stopped war would follow."

The writer has lived for several years in Germany, mixing with all classes and carefully observant of them all. Judging, then, by the spirit which they display towards ourselves, he can deliberately aver that, positions being reversed, the Germans would long since have made the foregoing demand, and backed it with irresistible force.

While Herr Bebel, who, for the Social Democrats, opposed the naval Bill, was speaking as to its possible effect of causing "a great, inevitable naval war" between England and Germany, Herr Kropatscheck, of the "Kreuz Zeitung," interjected, "It is because we have to fear a war with England that we need a fleet." Graf Limburgh, the Conservative leader, expressed the opinion that the naval measures of the Government were directed against Great Britain, and were all the more welcome to him on this account.

Here he was voicing in the Reichstag what was freely asserted by his countrymen everywhere outside.

Later, the writer quoted from the "Neue Freie Presse," of Vienna:

*"She (England), without doubt, is the great Colonial rival with whom Germany will, in the first place, have to settle matters . . . . A greater Germany rises before our vision in all her imposing grandeur. Germany feels strong, and wants to be stronger still.*

*"In Europe, Germany is secured against all*

*surprises by the Triple Alliance and by her relations to Russia, and she can proceed tomorrow to prepare the Colonial programme, for which she means adequately to arm herself."*

November 6th.

### The Germ of the Entente Cordiale

A leading article strongly urged better relations with France:

An "entente cordiale" between England and France, should such a thing be possible, would necessarily lead us to recast our naval dispositions in such a manner as to meet the altered situation which would then arise, and would in particular enable us to place a strong fleet in the North Sea. It would not, it is to be feared, enable us to reduce our Fleet, since there are other naval Powers in Europe whose naval activity has increased as that of France has diminished.

November 7th.

### The Kaiser's Visit

There are reports, which increase in persistence, to the effect that some scheme of alliance between England and Germany is on foot. It is, however, impossible to attach great importance to these rumours. An alliance is out of the question unless there is real community of interests, sympathy, and affection between the allies. Now, we know from the mouth of Professor Debrück, who has filled the responsible position of tutor in the German Imperial household, that "England must have no delusions upon the point that she is hated in Germany." The conduct of the German Press, and even that of German Ministers of State, during the Boer War, showed that the learned professor did not speak at random. In no country of Europe were the British Sovereign and the British people so persistently attacked; and no other Foreign Minister acted as did Count Buelow, when he declared that it was "an insult" to the German Army to compare the British soldier with the German.

We take no pleasure in recalling these facts, but they afford means of judging what the true feeling of Germany to this country is, and for that reason they are of importance. Did the Kaiser, to extricate his country from its temporary embarrassments, conclude with us an alliance under these circumstances, the German people would refuse to ratify it, and it must be worthless. Moreover, we know how treaties of alliance have been used by Germany in the past. Having concluded an alliance against Russia with Austria, Bismarck went behind Austria's back with this document, and made a

fresh alliance with Russia against Austria. From the day when this startling fact was disclosed the Triple Alliance in Europe has rested upon the most precarious foundations, nor have matters been mended by the antics of the Pan-Germans, whose object seems to be to embroil Germany simultaneously with every Great Power.

November 8th.

With the arrival of the Kaiser in England curiosity as to the object of his journey increases. It is pure affectation to pretend, as does the German Press, taking its cue without doubt from the Berlin Foreign Office, that he has no other mission than to kill pheasants. The Emperor William is not the man to waste time on such futilities.

But though Germany in the person of her ruler will not break with Russia, she would not have the slightest objection to see England quarrel with that Power. Until recent years she has managed by the consummate adroitness of her diplomacy to play off the two nations against one another, while at the same time she has succeeded in keeping England and France apart. That policy, however, has failed. The "Honest Broker," to use Prince Bismarck's expression, finds his business gone; the "Tertius Gaudens" is left without foreign quarrels over which to rejoice. It is to renew the brokerage business, and to estrange England from the two other great Continental Powers by some shadow of an agreement, that German policy is working today. But we in England cannot forget the conduct of Germany during the war. *We had regarded her as a friend; many of us had been advocates of a German alliance; and if we have had to abandon all hope of such a possibility, it is because the German people have taught us that they hate and envy us, irrationally and blindly. It is the German nation which has prevented the possibility of an Anglo-German alliance.*

December 4th.

#### Germany and Venezuela

An article on the Venezuelan trouble thus terminated: "In no circumstances would England forgive a Ministry which drifted into strained relations, and perhaps something even worse, with the United States to oblige Germany." A further article (December 17th) answers the "Daily Mail's" own question "What does the Emperor want?" (relevant to his visit to England) by suggesting that "the answer is now given in the sequence of events of the Venezuelan entanglement." The "Daily Mail" took a strong line against the mere suggestion of any understanding with Germany directed against the United States, and quoted, on January 1st, the following remarks from the "Contemporary Review":

"Germany can never be our friend. Economically, because she has the same aims as we have, and is propelled forward by the same economic motor forces; politically, because of her position between France and Russia; psychologically, because the German people are by nature envious, hostile to England, and tend to become more so. *The Pan-Germanic idea, as yet in its infancy, is no idle chimera. Could Germany crush us, she would. We must meet her with her own weapons, which are these—brains, science, thoroughness. Above all, our fleet must be invincible.*

"She has mobilised and brought into action a powerful Press Bureau, under Dr. von Holleben, in the United States, the direct object of which is—and we challenge denial on this point—the creation of bad feeling between England her kindred State. She even despatched Prince Henry on a mission to make mischief. But such was the confidence of America in British friendship and good faith that all these kindly manœuvres failed. It was then that she laid the Venezuelan trap, into which Lord Lansdowne instantly fell. Whether or not our Foreign Secretary is aware of the fact, she did her very utmost to embroil England in a great war with the United States."

#### Officially Fostered Hatred

*"For many years the powers-that-be in Berlin have inculcated contempt as well as hatred for England and all things English in the minds of the German nation. This has the double effect of preventing the importation of objectionable 'free institutions' from this country, and also of accustoming the Germans to the idea that we hold the line of least resistance, and that when Germany is prepared we shall go down before her as surely as the Spanish Armada went down before the British fleets."*

("The Press," New York):

"The German Empire grows rapidly and steadily into a naval Power of such proportions that unless a check is provided by rival nations it will be prepared to execute the most ambitious plans of the War Lord, even if it cannot fulfil the widely adventurous dreams of the Pan-Germanic League, which desires the absorption of Holland, Switzerland, and Austria-Hungary.

"Every year German pride is more and more rebellious against restraint. Sooner or later the time must come when Great Britain and the United States will have to raise a hand and say to the intolerable Goth: "So far shall you go and no farther!" When that time comes let us not be unprepared."



# 1903

January 24th.

## ALREADY PRACTISING "KULTUR"

Already, in 1903, the Germans were practising "kultur." The 'Daily Mail,' in an article on Jan. 24th remarked:

"The Germans are certainly making progress in the art of naval war, and, at the same time, are doing their very best to exasperate the people of the United States. The latest performance of their squadron on the Venezuelan coast has been marked by an absolute disregard for British wishes, and by a sovereign contempt for considerations of humanity, which in such a matter as this wretched Venezuelan dispute ought to be allowed some influence. With little provocation, so far as can be discovered, two German ships have bombarded Port San Carlos at Maracaibo, and in the course of the bombardment killed some twenty-five innocent and helpless Indian fishermen.

"This incident will render the alliance, under which England has tamely to obey the behests of the Sovereign who calls himself—when out of sight of the British Navy—the 'Admiral of the Atlantic,' more distasteful than ever.

"It cannot be too clearly understood in America that the people of this country will have no part or parcel in supporting Germany against the people of the United States, whom we have come to consider as our own kindred and as our traditional friends."

February 5th.

## Why Does Germany Need a Great Fleet?

*It is a very important fact, as affecting the relative position of England and Germany, that England is wholly dependent on the sea for food and raw material. If the command of the sea passed from British hands for even a brief space, the results must be national annihilation to this country. Our ports would be blockaded: food and all the materials used in manufacture would rise to ruinously high prices: and the nation would be starved to death. But in the case of Germany this terrible danger is absent, and the loss of the command of the sea would scarcely affect the country. Food and raw material could be imported with almost as much ease as in peace, through Belgium and Holland. There is, too, this further consideration to be kept in view. England does not possess a large army, and so is little likely to embark upon schemes of aggression against her peaceable neighbours. She could not incommode them if she did. But with Germany the case is very different. Behind the fleet which the Kaiser has in view, and which is to be capable of defeating the British squadrons in home waters, there is the magnificent German Army, with its millions of trained men, able to strike wherever ships can steam. It follows, then, that while great naval power in the*

*hands of Britain cannot constitute a menace, in the hands of Germany it will be a grave peril to the world, the more so as the recent history of German policy is one of daring aggression, and as the want of space at home compels Germany to conquer the colonies of others or perish.*

February 9th.

*It is all important for the Cabinet to recognise that Germany cannot be counted as a friend, but as a secret and insidious enemy. The nation will do well to insist that certain precautions, which should have been taken long ago, should now be adopted without further delay. A naval base on the East Coast and a standing squadron in the North Sea have become essential to British interests. It should not be forgotten that Germany openly aspires to command and to control these, our home waters.*

March 6th.

## The War of the Future

Our naval bases, as they exist to-day, were planned to meet the requirements of a past century, when there were no formidable navies in the north of Europe. They faced towards France and towards the Atlantic, because France was in the past the great adversary of this country, and because the Atlantic was continually, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the theatre of war. But in the last few years the importance of the French Navy has relatively declined . . . while Germany, in pursuance of the settled policy of the Kaiser, is reaching out her hand to grasp the trident. She is now engaged upon a naval programme of great dimensions, the express object of which, as its preamble states, and as Admiral Tirpitz told the Reichstag when it was introduced, is to enable her to meet in war the British Navy.

July 4th.

## The Needs of the Navy

No one is anxious to pay heavy taxes or to see millions voted which could be saved, but the people of this country have long since decided that a strong Navy must be maintained at all costs. Another of the items in the Naval Works Bill was a sum for the new naval base at Rosyth. That base has become necessary partly as the result of the great development of the German Fleet, partly because there is no longer accommodation for our ships in our older naval ports. The nation must be prepared for the enlargement of its establishments concurrently with the growth of its fleet, and must remember that in Germany Kiel is being doubled in size, and that a great harbour is being created at Emden, the German port which is nearest to England.

October 1st.

#### **A Forecast of Prussian Brutality**

The "Daily Mail," discussing a decree against the brutality rampant in the German Army, and the frequency of maltreatment of soldiers by non-commissioned officers, said:

One is led to speculate as to how these heartless German non-commissioned officers would deal with an enemy in view of the manner in which they are accustomed to treat their own men.

October 6th.

#### **The Kaiser's Rule**

It is impossible to follow the career of the Emperor William without realising the constant uncertainty which dominates his mind when he looks into the future. His appeals to the army, passionate and sometimes almost bordering on hysteria, are commonplace. One of his first speeches after he became Emperor reminded his soldiers that, if danger should come, they must be ready to shoot down fathers and brothers in defence of their King. "You must be ready, day and night, to risk your lives in the trenches, to spill your blood for your

King," he said to his bodyguard but the other day; and he seems to have been thinking of his own safety at the moment he came into his great inheritance. The tragedy of the Hundred Days was hardly over when a squadron of the Hussars scattered itself to take possession of every entrance to the palace, and within an hour of his father's death William II. was saluted by a company of infantry from Potsdam, which took up its place in the palace area so that not even the new Emperor himself could pass in or out save through their ranks. It was a remarkable demonstration, in the first hour of his power, of the force by which he was to rule.

December 21st.

#### **"The Contemptible British Army"**

In a speech at a military banquet at Hanover, on December 19th, 1903, the Kaiser said:

"With hearty thanks I raise my glass (and I hope that all of you will follow my example) in contemplation of the past, to the health of the German Legion, in memory of its incomparable deeds, which, in conjunction with Blucher and the Prussians, rescued the English Army from destruction at Waterloo."



## 1904

March 2nd.

**Mischievous Debate**

The Little Englander harassed the Unionist Government scarcely less than he seems to have hypnotised the Radical Government. The "Daily Mail" thus dealt with him in the spring of 1904:

A certain section in the House of Commons appears to have parted company with common-sense, since for the last two days the time of the House has been occupied with futile and foolish proposals for reducing the Naval Estimates. In a speech which showed sagacity and a deep sense of responsibility, Mr. Balfour reminded the House of certain obvious considerations. This country depends absolutely upon its fleet, and can take no risks. Its position is not to be compared with that of Russia, France, or Germany, who might lose their whole fleet and be little the worse. With us such a loss would mean utter ruin and the payment of an indemnity of hundreds of millions to a foreign conqueror. If the Little Englanders are unwilling to pay for an adequate navy, let them say so. But let them also at the same time warn their infatuated supporters that in that case England must be prepared to accept the fate of China, and to be told by foreign Powers, as China was told by Germany, that "common-sense must show you on which side lies superior force, and you will be wise to yield to our demands without resistance."

May 14th.

**A Forecast of Russo-Japanese Reconciliation**

Already there are signs that the bravery and devotion of the Japanese have won the respect of the Russians, who have always admired gallant foes. It is well that this should be the case, as it suggests that an ultimate reconciliation between the two Powers, over all the carnage of the battlefield, may not be beyond the range of reasonable hope. War, indeed, reconciles rather than permanently divides nations, where statesmen are careful to avoid leaving any such permanent source of exasperation as was caused by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. The sooner the reconciliation the better. There is only one Power in the world which stands to gain greatly by the permanent weakening of Russia, and this Power is Germany,

Her newspapers misrepresented the formidable qualities of the Japanese army and navy,

of which the British Press gave ample warning. They did so because they hoped that a conflict between Russia and Japan would result in a prolonged and exhausting struggle, ruining both States for a generation, during which period Germany might lay her hands upon the Yangtse Valley.

May 29th.

**THE "DAILY MAIL'S" FIRST PLEA FOR COMPULSORY SERVICE**

*For compulsory service it may be said that it gives the same training to the character as compulsory education gives to the national intellect. Further, it unquestionably improves the physique of the man subjected to it. It must be remembered, too, that world conditions are changing. Can a half-armed people survive where the whole of the rest of the world is trained to arms? Sir R. Griffen has pointed to the growth of these immense foreign armies as introducing altogether new problems into British life, while all the omens point to the probability that Britain's position will be challenged in the near future. We may trust much to a watchful and conciliatory diplomacy to secure our safety. But, after all, as Napoleon said, diplomacy without armed force behind it is like music without instruments.*

June 18th.

**No Saving on Armaments**

Throughout the world the Powers are vastly increasing their expenditure upon their navies, and all the signs of the times point to a future of strenuous competition for the great prize of sea-power. It is our duty to hold the lead which the British Navy has obtained, and to hold it unflinchingly.

As if to teach a much-needed lesson to those who pretend that the British Fleet is in excess of requirements, the events of the past few days have once more illustrated the danger of attempting much with too weak a naval force. Because the Japanese lacked the strength to blockade Vladivostok effectively, Admiral Skrydloff has been able to sink two, if not three, Japanese transports, inflicting fearful loss of life upon our allies. He has been able for some hours to threaten and derange the communications of the Japanese Army. What would be the feelings of the economists in this country if, through their misguided efforts, such a catastrophe had befallen British transports under like circumstances, and our admirals had reported that it was due to the insufficiency of the fleet?

June 29th.

### King Edward and the Kaiser

With the King's departure from Kiel to-day, his Majesty's brief visit to the Kaiser comes to a close. The well-informed have never expected from it any political result, and his Majesty's tact made it clear from the first that his journey was not undertaken to conclude a new alliance.

It is, indeed, impossible sufficiently to admire the discretion with which the King has eluded awkward topics. Our gracious ruler is a skilful diplomatist not in the least likely to be caught by such pitfalls. So it is interesting to observe that when the Kaiser referred in glowing terms to the greatness of the German Navy—that force which, according to the public statements of many eminent people in Germany, is being strengthened for a certain object not altogether consonant with the maintenance of peace—King Edward, in his reply, expressed only his enthusiasm for yachts and yachting.

July 4th.

### King Edward's Visit to Kiel

The King's journey to Kiel was made occasion of by the German Press to exploit the visit in the interests of Germany. It was alleged that intervention in the Russo-Japanese War was discussed between the King and Kaiser. The "Daily Mail" dealt with scorn on this suggestion, pointing out that the diplomacy of King Edward was not that of a Bismarck, to go behind the back of an ally and make agreements contrary to that ally's interests:

The purpose of these reports is to discredit England in the eyes of the world by representing her guilty of a perfectly pointless piece of disloyalty. The Japanese, of course, know that the attitude of the King and the British Government has been absolutely correct, but in Europe the impression is fostered that British policy is still directed from Berlin. There could not be a greater mistake. The excellent understanding with France was the first sign that England had cut herself loose from the influence of the Wilhelmstrasse, and to that understanding the British nation still holds firmly as the key of its foreign policy. In another German inspired article we are told that "Germans and Englishmen can compete in works of peace without hindering each other." This is excellent news, and we presume that as the first sign of this new spirit in Germany we shall see a reduction in the German naval expenditure.

July 4th.

*The German Army does not love the British Army, and when the two forces meet every*

*Teuton will fight in a spirit of personal hatred towards the Britisher who faces him.*

(From a "Daily Mail" interview with ex-Lieutenant Bilde, dismissed from the German Army because of the revelations in his book thereon.)

July 11th.

### German Fleet's Spying Visits

Commenting on the visit of the German Fleet to Plymouth, the frequency of these visits was pointed out, with the ironical remark that certain German training ships might almost be said to make Plymouth and Portsmouth their headquarters, so frequent were their sojourns in British seas.

Only two years ago Prince Henry of Prussia remained some days in one of the most important of our naval bases on the Atlantic—Berehaven. Not many months have passed since the Kaiser himself condescended to visit Gibraltar, where he was shown the works and fortifications.

The appearance of the German ships at Plymouth might suggest to the casual observer who knows nothing about the relations between England and Germany that a close alliance bound the two Powers. This, however, is not the fact. We are driven, then, to conclude that the German squadron has come to watch the mobilisation of our Navy for the approaching manoeuvres which is now in progress at our naval ports.

July 12th.

### A PLAIN WARNING

"Englishmen of all degrees and classes cannot but be puzzled by the fact that of late, as if by word of command, the attitude of the German Press to England has suddenly and mysteriously changed.

"It is now constantly suggested by reputable German organs of opinion that the British Government is making overtures to Germany, that a close understanding with England is probable, and that even a military agreement is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

"What is the meaning of this talk? The Englishmen may well ask himself. He can only answer his own questions by consulting the utterances of leading Germans, official and non-official, in the immediate past, and by comparing the German words with the German deeds.

"First and foremost as to acts. There is no slackening in German naval activity. . . In the words of Dr. Reich, whom I shall cite because he is a dispassionate and far-seeing foreign witness:

*"There can be no doubt that Germany is arming herself with patience, calculating and laborious perseverance for the day when she shall at last feel ready to throw down the gauntlet in the face of England.*



*Germany is of those that look, meditate, and prepare before they leap, in order that they need have to leap only once.*

"In pursuance of this plan, openly avowed in 1900, when it was declared, in the preamble of the German Navy Act of that year, that the object of the German Government was to create such a fleet :

" . . . . . *that even for the strongest naval Power a war with Germany would involve such risks as to jeopardise that Power's naval supremacy.*"

"Germany has in the last six years laid down thirteen battleships against England's sixteen, and is even now preparing to extend her programme.

"It is, however, the opinion of German statesmen that Germany must not go too fast. The quarrel is not to come just yet. In an address delivered at Munich, in May, before a host of Bavarian royalties, General von Sauer let the cat out of the bag. In words of naïve indiscretion he declared :

" *England and Germany must always remain rivals. Germany must avoid war with England, or, at any rate, must seek to postpone it.*

" *Every year's postponement increases the strength of the German marine. Should Germany be forced to decide on war, she must be armed. Her fleet must be developed to the utmost the country can bear. She must, at any rate, seek to possess a fleet strong enough to hold its own against the English home squadron.*"

#### **When Germany is Ready**

"In fact, 'till we are quite ready'—a very sound military principle, and one which England would do well to keep in mind.

"We have further to reckon with the fact that in the last twenty years hatred of England has become the dominant creed of the German nation. In a valuable and exhaustive study of German Anglo-phobia only just published Freiherr von Simmern has pointed out, 'In its essence Anglo-phobia is a systematic attack upon the existence of the British Power.' It is no passing phase, he says ; it is the mainspring of German feeling and policy.

"To see how deep this feeling of animosity to England goes we need only quote some sayings of prominent Germans in the last few years. Professor Delbrück, a former tutor in the Emperor's family, in the 'North American Review' of January, 1909, declared that Germany might well be friends with the world at large, but—

" *a nation, as well as an individual, must seemingly either love or hate. If the multitude had no enemy it could take no part in foreign politics at all. So the nation which once celebrated with delight the memory of the Belle Alliance of Blucher and Wellington at Waterloo has now directed its hate against England. England must have no delusions upon this point.*"

Treitschke, who more than any German professor has moulded German policy, wrote as far back as 1884 :

" *We have reckoned with France and Austria. The reckoning with England has yet to come ; it will be the longest and the hardest.*"

It was Treitschke who taught "Delenda est Britannia." Count Moulin-Eckart has bettered his master's instruction. "We are not England's friend," he says in his lectures. "May the genius of Bismarck preside over a second (naval) Koenig-gratz."

How, then, are we to reconcile the German overtures of the honeyed words of the German Press with the din which arises from the German dock-yards as they feverishly push forward new battleships and destroyers, and build up the great navy, and with these utterances ?—H.

July 13th.

#### **The World War**

A remarkable book, "The World War," was published in Germany with the significant sub-title "German Dreams" (August Niemann). Passage quoted :

"It only needs one word from the Kaiser to stir the soul of the German people to its deepest depths, and to light a flame of overpowering enthusiasm which shall put an end to any disunion or strife of factions among them. Were Germany to put her whole strength into the struggle for victory, victory would be hers. And victory has its own justification."

The "Daily Mail's" comment on this book :

Its message and meaning unmistakably adumbrate the unchanging and ineradicable hostility of Germany to England. It is the spirit of rancour and hatred which informs the book that makes it distinctly noteworthy, and renders it something for all patriotic Englishmen to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest.

Germany inveigles France and Russia to join her against England. The Russians invade India and smash the British power there, mainly owing to the desertion to Russia of all the Mohammedan troops. The Mutiny is then repeated. A German army invades Scotland, a French army England. When the British Fleet goes to Kiel it finds the German Fleet put to sea. Prince Henry leads the German Fleet to annihilating victory. Germans and French enter London and dictate terms. Russia gets India, France obtains Egypt, Germany takes Antwerp (Germany's violation of Belgium, it will be noted, was even then taken for granted), and England pays an enormous indemnity !

Poor enough stuff, but the German public were fed for years on it.

August 9th.

### The Needs of the Navy

Never was a powerful fleet more needed than today, when we are being reminded at every turn that the prosperity of British shipping, upon which the British nation is coming more and more to rely as its other industries succumb before tariff-aided competition, depends ultimately upon the protection which our Fleet can give. No Power with a weak navy can long retain a great commerce. The example of Venice and Holland is there to prove it; yet during the last six years England, who is professedly maintaining a navy equal to that of any two other Powers, has only just surpassed that of Germany alone in battleship construction. Where Germany has laid down thirteen battleships, we have laid down or purchased sixteen. It is a small margin of predominance, even allowing for our much more powerful ships, in view of the fact that the whole German Navy is concentrated in European waters, while the British Fleet is scattered over the three great oceans of the world.

Sept. 17th.

### Watching Our Manœuvres—The Kaiser's Secret Agents in Essex

The military manœuvres in Essex which have just ended were watched most closely by the German authorities. It would seem that the Kaiser took the keenest interest in the matter. Despite the fact that there was an officially accredited German military attaché, a number of agents were also present, and among the number was Count Eulenburg, a Secretary of the German Embassy in London. One of our military correspondents writes that the fact that the Count was taking notes and making sketches excited a good deal of adverse criticism among the British officers who were familiar with the fact. *The reports of all these secret agents are apparently to be laid before the Kaiser, who was well aware of the significance of the operations in Essex to the German Army and Navy.*

Oct. 1st.

### England's False Friend

The ordinary Englishman is anxious to be on good terms with all the world, and would like to see the best relations prevailing between England and Germany, as well as between England and France. But, unfortunately, experience has shown that it is impossible to remain on terms of close intimacy with both Powers. Efforts in this direction in the period from 1880 to 1900 merely issued in constant estrangement from France, without

securing the alliance or even the sincere friendship of Germany.

It is not denied by Germany that she is building a great navy to take from England the hegemony of the seas, while we know that her attitude in the past has been one of marked unfriendliness towards England. The famous telegram to Mr. Kruger, the indefensible use made by her of what her statesmen have called the Yangtze Agreement, her violent action in the case of the Bundesrath and the Kaiser, and the bitter diatribes of her Press during the South African war cannot readily be forgotten. Germany has not been a true friend, whereas since the understanding with France the conduct of the French Government to this country has been marked by unswerving straightforwardness and goodwill to England.

November 12th.

### Mr. Balfour's Noble Aspirations

The letter which Mr. Balfour has addressed to Dr. Ernst, the translator of his famous Presidential Address to the British Association, pays a delicate tribute to the dispassionateness of the German scientific world—a world which in its aims knows no nationality and none of the animosities inspired by national feeling—and expresses the wish that this "disinterested community of aim" might be extended through all classes and all interests in the various peoples.

It is a generous and a noble aspiration. No Englishman of any culture can deny the great debt which humanity owes to German science and German investigation. In every field of intellectual activity Germans have smoothed the way for other races. As commentators on the classics, as investigators in the field of scientific research, as historians, as organisers, as teachers of the military art, as practical statesmen, as men of action, they hold a proud place in the annals of the last century. They have excelled in detailed, methodic examination of facts, if not in those far-reaching generalisations which are attained by minds such as Newton's and Darwin's. To the scientific man or historian a knowledge of German has become indispensable, if only because of the vast mass of evidence that has been assembled and digested by German professors and scholars. There is not and there never will be any disposition in England to deny the value of the teaching which Germany has given.

But when this has been said, certain difficulties must be surmounted before the political relations of England and Germany return to the old condition of intimate friendship and mutual affection. *The estrangement between the two peoples has not*



*been of British compassing.* It was Prince Bismarck who, twenty years ago, began the policy of deliberate antagonism to England which has since marked his successor's administration. The first clear manifestation of this feeling surprised England, when the Emperor Frederick lay upon his death-bed and a furious campaign of abuse was inaugurated by the semi-official German Press against the late Empress Frederick and Dr. Morell-Mackenzie, on the ground that they both were English. A few years later there came as a bolt from the blue the present Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger, which was deliberately sent after consultation with his Ministers, and which was accompanied by attempts, revealed four years afterwards, to form a coalition against the British Empire for the purpose of destroying it. The violent outburst of German animosity against this country during the Boer War is still fresh in the minds of all; and in no country was abuse of England and all things English pushed so far. And Englishmen who follow closely the trend of foreign affairs have been conscious that at every turn some occult influence has intervened to discredit England and to embroil her with foreign Powers.

### **Anglophobic German Professors**

Nor can it be forgotten that German professors have led the chorus of abuse. Whatever their impartiality in matters scientific, they have shown no such feeling in matters political. Professor Mommsen, the honoured historian of Rome, made one of the most violent attacks upon England during the Boer War. Dr. Delbrück, a historian of great eminence, declared at that time that Germany must hate some Power; hatred was essential to her existence, and the Power selected for her detestation was England. At a remoter date the great publicist Treitschke may be said to have laid the foundations of German enmity by skilfully garbling history. In the words of a famous statesman, who, when urged to abolish capital punishment, replied, "Let messieurs the assassins begin," we urge that German leaders of thought should begin the work of allaying the animosity which they have aroused against England. When they have exerted themselves in this direction the British people will be able to change its views, but until then must remain, so far as Germany is concerned, "always on the watch" for some cleverly devised plan of diplomatic mischief.

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# 1905

January 11th.

## The German Fleet

*Early again in a New Year the "Daily Mail" took up its persistent warnings of the purpose of the German Fleet.*

Far-seeing men in England cannot altogether close their eyes to the rapid growth of the German Fleet. It is a fact that in the past six years the Germans have laid down twelve battleships to our sixteen. The design of these battleships proves to the expert mind that they are intended for use in a conflict with a neighbour near at hand, and this neighbour cannot be France, who in the same period has only begun six battleships. The truest sign, then, that Germany wished to live in peace and harmony with Great Britain would be the suspension of her great naval schemes. Yet we have no right to complain if those schemes are vigorously prosecuted; all that we can do is to make counter-preparations.

A significant fact which appears from the recent German semi-official communications in the British and German Press is that, during the North Sea crisis, the German Fleet was mobilised: Why it was mobilised has yet to be explained by the German authorities, if they really wish to continue on the best of terms with England. The North Sea affair did not concern Germany in the smallest degree. The secrecy and suddenness with which the mobilisation was carried out did not escape the attention of the British Admiralty, which was obliged to hurry four battleships north from the Channel Fleet, owing to its very natural ignorance of what such a proceeding on the part of Germany really meant.

(NOTE.—The North Sea crisis refers to the action of the Russian Fleet for the Far East firing on British trawlers on the Dogger Bank.)

May 16th.

## The Kaiser's Speeches

(NOTE.—The Kaiser, in a speech, had asserted that the Russians had been defeated by the Japanese because they were bad Christians. At the same time he insulted the Japanese by saying that they had been sent like the Huns under Attila, and the French under Napoleon, to be the scourge of a sinful and degenerate nation.)

"Daily Mail's" comment: —

The comparison was scarcely just to the Japanese, and the subjects of the Mikado would be perfectly justified in replying that the reputation of Germany in the Far East is not that of a nation which practises the Christian virtues. They can point to the famous speech of the Kaiser, made

to the German contingent which took part in the operations against the Boxers, where his Majesty said to his men:

"No quarter will be given, no prisoners taken; all who fall into your hands shall be at your mercy. Just as the Huns, a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Attila, gained a reputation for sternness, in virtue of which they still live, so may the name of Germany become known in such a way in China that hereafter no Chinaman may so much as dare to look askance at a German."

These were hardly the morals of the New Testament.

The Kaiser appears just now to be unfortunate in his speeches. His Strassburg utterances, as originally reported, alleged that the Russians were defeated at Mukden because their army was given up to immorality and drunkenness. A day later it was edited in a revised version, till it only mildly advised the German soldiers to live a godly and a virtuous life. A third and final edition appeared yesterday which contained some flattering remarks as to the sobriety and capacity of the Japanese officer, while adding that the Russians had bought too much champagne, and that the true soldier should dismiss all thought of champagne from his mind.

July 5th.

Monsieur Paul Deschanel (in a special "Daily Mail" article):

Germany aspires to be mistress of the seas, and England cannot suffer that loss without herself being lost. The naval programme of Germany, as has been repeatedly stated officially in the Reichstag, is openly directed against England.

June 17th

## England Our Enemy

That the trend of German thought is increasingly hostile to Great Britain is shown by the many articles in German periodicals—daily, weekly, and monthly—on a possibility of a conflict between the two nations.

Professing to find an equally hostile feeling towards Germany in England, the writers urge that Germany's only security is in building a sufficiently strong fleet to meet and defeat that of Great Britain.

This attitude is strongly reflected in an article in the June number of the "Neue Deutsche Rundschau," by Herr H. von Gerlach. Discussing the policy of the German Chancellor, Prince Buelow, the



German writer comes to the conclusion that German foreign policy ought to be entirely directed against England.

Germany (he says) has at present no basis for a colonial policy, as her colonies have proved to be a failure. The German population, however, is increasing at the rate of 900,000 people yearly, and there must be an outlet for the surplus population. For some years the rate of emigration was as high as 200,000 persons yearly. Now it amounts to only 20,000 or 30,000.

The way out of that deadlock is pointed out by the Kaiser's journey to Constantinople, to Palestine, and lately to Tangier; the Mussulman world must become the sphere of German interests. Herr von Gerlach adds: "The Kaiser has made an indelible impression upon the Eastern mind."

### THE FIRST MOROCCAN CRISIS

Germany, in June, demanded a conference to discuss Moroccan affairs, and practically threatened war against France unless she acceded. France, for the sake of peace, yielded after a dangerous period of tension, during which the Meuse and Antwerp fortifications were strengthened by Belgium, who, even then, realised that Germany would not hesitate to violate her neutrality.

June 23rd.

Using Prince von Donnersmark and Professor Schiemann as spokesmen, Germany has imposed further conditions upon France.

*France (say these two distinguished gentlemen) has to choose finally between England and Germany. If France chooses England as her friend, they remind the French public that Germany is strong and armed. Germany will fall upon France, defeat her, impose upon her a vast ransom, and with this ransom repair the mischief done to German trade by the British Fleet. But if France will side with Germany, then a golden future is held out before her.*

Such talk might be disregarded if it came from two nobodies, but as Prince von Donnersmark is known to maintain the closest possible relations with the German Foreign Office, and as Professor Schiemann is an intimate friend of the German Emperor, and spoke immediately after an interview with his august sovereign, it is no cause for surprise that these threats have produced a very uneasy feeling in France, and astonishment and indignation in England. For England is the friend of France, and attacks upon France are resented by the British nation.

This much is certain: a strong France is vital to England and Europe, and deliberate aggression directed against France would be a blow struck

against the British Empire, and would be taken as such in this country.

June 28th.

### Our Desire for Peace

As for Germany and England, we may say that all Englishmen are anxious to maintain friendly relations with their great neighbour across the North Sea. No one dreams of making war upon Germany, and the famous article by Admiral Fitzgerald, in a German periodical, advocating an attack on her, in no way represented British opinion. Provided the British Navy be maintained at a proper figure of strength, a conflict may be averted, and Germany may come in time to deal with her on fair terms, and to understand that nothing is to be gained by endeavouring to form anti-British coalitions, or to foment hostility to England in Europe.

July 11th.

### WE DO NOT WANT WAR

In the case of England and France, what is required is some agreement which shall preserve the peace of Europe. The weakening of Russia as a European Power as the result of the present war may be only temporary, but it is a fact with which other states must reckon, and its effect has been very disagreeably seen during the past few months. It is not too much to say that the Morocco question would never have been raised by Germany had Russia made peace after Liaoyang. And though the French Government has reached an understanding on the question with Germany which we in this country hope will prove durable, it is yet impossible to forget the truculence of Professor Schiemann and Prince von Donnersmark, who have openly declared that it is the policy of Germany to compel France to become a satellite. As the German threats are directed in equal part against France and against England, there is every reason why the two Powers menaced should put their heads together. Neither of them entertains any hostile purpose against Germany, for *whatever may be written or said in either country the idea of a deliberate war with Germany has never crossed the brain of any responsible Englishman.* The German Press, however, has striven to convey to Frenchmen the impression that England is anxious to use France as a weapon against Germany and to sacrifice France in the process. The suggestion is absurd, as what this country seeks is not a great and terrible war, but a prolonged and honourable peace.

### Anglo-Japanese Alliance

We observe with great surprise that it is denounced in Berlin as aggressive in purpose, and directed against Germany, Russia, and

France. The French can judge for themselves, and we have already seen what their verdict is. But the outburst of indignation in Berlin must lead Englishmen to reflect upon the real attitude of Germany to this country. The second article of the agreement states clearly that the alliance only becomes operative "by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action" of other Powers upon or against England or Japan resulting in war.

October 7th.

### The Threat of the Future

At a sitting of the German Colonial Congress, General von Liebert, ex-Governor of German East Africa, spoke as the delegate of the German Navy League on the political significance of sea-power. He ended by declaring that as soon as Germany stood in commanding strength the truth would be proved of the saying, "*the twentieth century belongs to the Germans.*"

October 9th.

### Germany's Wrath at the Entente Cordiale

No British Minister could permit a friendly people to be overwhelmed for the mere offence of being friendly to Britain. No British statesman of whatever party could overlook the fact that if France had once been destroyed a subsequent attack upon England would have become increasingly attractive to the Kaiser. Even from the German standpoint it is difficult to see how Germany can justify her conduct. She is not afraid of the French Army, for her Donnersmarks and Shiemanns have constantly reiterated the fact that on land Germany could crush France, if only in virtue of her superior population. She cannot be afraid of a coalition against her, for whatever the utterances of firebrands in both countries, German statesmen are perfectly aware that the British nation is profoundly pacific and is in no temper to throw away millions in the conquest of the German colonies, which it has never coveted, while France is certainly not likely to provoke a great war.

*The trouble between England and Germany has been largely due to the fact that German statesmen say one thing and mean another. They tell us that they are friendly to England and have no wish to quarrel with her. But they press their naval armaments with utmost energy, and plan, as we have seen, an attack upon a neighbouring State for the sole offence of being, not England's ally, but merely England's friend.*

### Anglo-Franco-Russo-Japanese Alliance

In October of this year a Paris journal (the "Echo de Paris") stated that negotiations were afoot between England and Russia. It expressed certainty that Japan would be made cognisant of such negotiations, saying: "Japan has just as strong motives as England to desire the existence of good relations between Britain and Russia, if only because she is bound to give military support under certain eventualities to the British Empire."

The Tokio correspondent of the Paris "Journal" at about the same time alleged that a quadruple alliance between England, France, Russia and Japan was being seriously discussed in Tokio.

The "Daily Mail," commenting on these rumours, expressed, in a leading article (October 11th), its warm aspirations that "the interminable quarrel between Russia and Great Britain should be no longer prolonged."

There is no hostile purpose against any country in British statesmanship, the one desire of which is to maintain the peace of the world, and to remove all causes of possible quarrel. An Anglo-Russian rapprochement, supposing one to be possible, will not be directed against Germany, any more than the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which is purely defensive and conservative. *The past history of the British people shows clearly that they are imbued with respect for the rights of others. They do not wish to deny Germany her great place in Europe and the world, much less to endanger her security, but they do wish to remove all incentives to a policy of adventure in Europe or Asia.*

October 12th.

### Sheer Ignorance

As to the general fact that England was prepared to give France naval and military support of the most effective kind there can be no doubt whatever. The denials of this fact which have appeared in certain journals of the British Press, and which have been telegraphed to Paris forthwith, to prove to the French nation that the friendship of England is valueless, can only proceed from lack of information, or that extraordinary aversion for any Power which happens to be the friend of England that is manifested from time to time by the Radical Press. In so acting, England was repeating her line of conduct in 1875, when Queen Victoria and Tsar Alexander prevented Germany from destroying France; and in 1895 when Lord Rosebery, by a timely hint, prevented a coalition from destroying Japan.



The question which those people who deny the authenticity of the promises of help to France must answer is this: How was it that Germany, who had been demanding the abandonment of the Anglo-French Convention, suddenly changed her tone? Why did she, after threatening war and preparing for war, effect a volte-face? France had not become suddenly stronger; the Manchurian War had not then ended and freed Russia. The explanation can only be found in outside influence—the sudden throwing of some fresh weight into the French scale. That fresh weight was the will of England, backed by the promise to France of force. We note with immense surprise that there are some Englishmen who seek to minimise the aid that England might have given, and one temerarious journal positively denies that England could put in the field more than 25,000 men. *The smallest study of military statistics would show that in case of so much urgency England could put into the field not a 100,000 men but 250,000.* It is little enough, no doubt, but, as we have seen, it has served to maintain the peace of Europe, it has served to protect France from an attack which was to be made on the sole ground that France was our friend.

#### Defiant Speeches by the Kaiser

Replying to a toast by the King of Saxony at the banquet at Dresden, the Kaiser made the following significant speech (October 21st):

"Your words have done me good after the hard work of the summer.

"If Germany keeps advancing, then we can with raised visor and frank German manliness look in the eye anyone who should choose to block our path and try to interfere with our legitimate interests."

At a banquet given at the White Hall in the palace (October 25th), the Emperor William proposed the following toast:

"You have seen, gentlemen, how we stand in the world.

"Then powder dry, sword keen, eyes on the goal, muscles taut, and away with pessimists.

"I empty my glass to our people in arms, the German Army and the General Staff. Hurrah!"

November 18th.

#### Germany's Growing Fleet

The Naval Bill for 1906 increased the number of ships to be built by six large cruisers, and provided eight additional destroyer flotillas. £250,000 annually was set aside for experiments with submarines. The size of all ships to be increased in accordance with experience gained in the Russo-

Japanese war. The naval estimates would be increased from £11,000,000 in 1905 to £16,400,000 in 1917.

The foregoing details of the new German programme were in exact accord with the forecast from the Düsseldorf correspondent, published in the "Daily Mail" of November 14th.

December 4th

#### Great Britain Sets an Example

Some years ago Mr. Goschen, as First Lord of the Admiralty, made an appeal to foreign Powers to reduce their armaments, and promised that Great Britain would make a proportional reduction if this were done. No notice was taken of the appeal. Now, the British Government has taken the bold step of setting an example instead of making an appeal. Our shipbuilding programme is reduced, and we are told that it is possible to do this because, 'however formidable foreign shipbuilding programmes may appear on paper, we can always overtake them in consequence of our resources and our power of rapid construction.' And this explanation is accompanied by the plain warning that we cannot proceed indefinitely with reduced programmes unless other Powers follow our example. This straightforward statement ought to knock the bottom out of the naval agitation in Germany. That country is making unexampled efforts to build a formidable navy, on the pretext that Germany is in danger of being attacked by Great Britain. *If the German Ambassador will draw the attention of his Government to the declared policy of the British Admiralty, and explain to Count von Buelow that it shows we have no intention of attacking his country, and that consequently German naval preparations need no longer be conducted on a scale which makes us wonder whom they are aimed at, we shall feel that his expressions of goodwill, which we cordially reciprocate, come from the heart of a friend.*

December 28th.

#### "I Do Not Want War"

The Emperor William, on the subject of the relations existing between France and Germany: "It is a mistake to say that there exists towards France a war party. Such a party has no existence. Even supposing that it did exist, the fact would be of no importance whatever, for I alone have the authority to arrive at a determination on such a subject. I do not want war, because I consider war is contrary to my duty to God and to my people."

# 1906

January 3rd.

## THE SHADOW OF WAR

Englishmen cannot display a burning affection for Germany without being false to their friend across the Channel, and without fatally weakening the French position at the fast-approaching Morocco Conference. Many verbal assurances of friendship have been given in the past month by German statesmen and by the Kaiser both to England and France. But in this world it is deeds, not words, that count. Germany has made no reply to Lord Cawdor's invitation addressed directly to her, though her name was not mentioned, to abstain from ambitious naval schemes. On the contrary, the German Navy League has called for an even larger naval programme than that submitted to the Reichstag, and Prince Buelow has announced his determination to insist at all cost upon the voting of this enormous programme. In her treatment of France, Germany is not showing amicable intentions. Exceptional activity is being displayed by the German military authorities, and only a week back certain mobilisation notices, which are not usually issued till the spring, were forwarded to German subjects some weeks in advance of the normal date. The result is that, notwithstanding all her concessions . . . France is still living under the shadow of the fear of a great and terrible war. But now, as in June, 1905, France may rest assured that any wanton and unprovoked attack upon herself would bring her the alliance of the people of Great Britain.

## Tension at Algeciras

There are pessimists on the Continent who go so far as to declare that war is in sight. We have stated before that such a view appears to us quite unjustified. The German people won their power in Europe by force, it is true, but they have never fought in the past without making certain that the great majority of European Powers were on their side. They never fought in the past without an adequate *casus belli*. To-day, if Germany were to provoke war, the public opinion of Europe would be unanimous against her. Her people would not feel that any great and vital German interests were at stake. Under such conditions no sane statesman would risk a great and terrible struggle with an armed nation. With all his faults, Prince Bismarck was never guilty of such a blunder, nor can we for one moment believe that his successors will be blind to his teaching. It may be true that Germany is superior in numbers and in wealth to France, but that very fact proves that she has nothing to fear from her neighbour. She has certainly nothing to fear from England. *The Entente Cordiale*

*is defensive and conservative, and the whole official world at Berlin is perfectly aware that it is not directed against Germany. To live in friendship with her is our aim, and it can instantly be realised if she will live in amity with France.*

March 3rd.

## The Germans in Antwerp

*A prophetic article in the "Daily Mail," by "A Military Officer," urged the danger to Great Britain of a possible German occupation of Antwerp, with its network of railways and canals, and its sixteen navigation companies, plying between Antwerp and the Rhine.*

*The writer instanced the facilities of launching from Antwerp an army corps for invasion of England. The aforesaid flotilla already numbered 300 steamers, tugs, and barges, to say nothing of a fine fleet of river steamers which might be assembled from the Rhine, Moselle, and Meuse, if the then projected Rhine and Scheldt canal were constructed.*

March 10th.

## Is Invasion Possible?

*The British public are reminded by Lord Roberts that if the strength of the British Army remains insufficient, and if this country is willing to continue ill-prepared for a great war, the consequences may be of the gravest nature.*

The fundamental question is that of invasion. Is invasion of these islands possible?

Much has happened to illustrate the ease with which a comparatively large force can be moved by sea and disembarked. In Sakhalin, for example, the Japanese disembarked 8,000 men in a single hour, whereas British calculations have usually assumed that the process of landing men will be a slow and lengthy one. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Haldane assume that the British Navy absolutely controls the sea. It does so at present, as against any single Power, but will it always do so? Is it not possible that unless its force is massed in close proximity to the quarter from which danger is apprehended, a smaller fleet might gain a local command of a particular sea for a brief period, sufficiently long, however, to admit the landing of a powerful army?

It is, of course, true in the abstract that the best security against invasion for an island state is to strengthen its fleet; but it is not an abstract proposition that we are debating. England has ceased to be an island; she has grave responsibilities on the Indian frontier, and elsewhere, which could not be met by any navy, however strong. Nor



can she rely upon allies for the fulfilment of those obligations.

*A virile and great people must bear its own burdens, and not shift them on to the shoulders of others. Only by strengthening the Army, or the trained reserves behind the Army, can we meet these responsibilities abroad. By such a reform we should at the same time render a surprise invasion impossible. For if 500,000 well-trained and armed men had to be encountered by the invader in England, the invading force would have to be of the same or greater size, and the problem for the enemy would become one impossible for solution.*

June 8th.

### The Huns

(Extracts from articles "In the Fatherland," by Bart Kennedy.)

For the last generation they (the German people) have been cowed and coerced by a gang of Prussian Huns—madmen, whose chief ambition was to disturb the world's peace so that they could show off the effect of a big conscript army. It is well to tell the English people the plain truth about this matter. The policy of the ostrich is the policy of death. There is danger from Germany—not because of the people. The Germans in themselves do not want war, but the idea of discipline is so ingrained in them, that all that the military party would have to do would be to say the word, and Europe would be ablaze. They would obey the Huns in high places as the electric bell obeys the touch on the button. Perhaps you are a stay-at-home Englishman who does not believe this. If so, I am sorry; and all I can say to you is that if you travelled through Germany, you would be blind indeed did you not see that the Germans are absolutely in the grip of the military party. Military officers are everything, and the rest of Germany is nothing. I am not saying that there are not Germans who resent this state of things—there are. But the danger to the peace of Europe lies in the fact that practically the German has no say in the governing of his country, and, as I said, he obeys unquestioningly. He has been turned into a machine by Bismarck, and Europe will be in danger till he finds his soul again.

June 13th.

### The Prussian Peril

Let it not be forgotten that Prussia is by no means the whole of Germany. It is, of course, the part that we hear from the most. From it come the telegrams. *From it comes the danger to the peace of Europe.*

Prussia is the tail that wags the dog.

And that is the beginning and the end of it. Germany is composed of a number of States peopled

by inhabitants of opposing characteristics and temperaments, and Prussia is but one of these States. And the time may perhaps come when the dog will have wisdom and courage enough not to allow himself to be pushed and shoved and whirled so strangely around by his tail.

Indeed, the Prussians are not typical Germans at all. They are not comfortable enough. That absolutely German word "gemuthlich," which is untranslatable into English, and which means a sort of easy, serene, pleasant comfortableness, in no way fits these quick, decided, forceful, arbitrary people. *If they are able, they mean to grip the earth, as they have gripped Germany.* I admit that one nation has as much right to grip everything in sight as another, but it is apt to give one uncomfortable thoughts when the nation that has the earth-gripping mania is a nation that knows nothing of the art of letting people alone. I mean, it is uncomfortable to think that these Prussians have the power to set Europe ablaze because of the fact that Germany proper is at their beck and call. And let there be no beating about the bush. *These Prussians mean to assail England at the first opportunity. You say the Socialist Party would stop it? Do not believe anything so foolish.* The Socialist Party has as much chance of influencing Prussian adventure as a rabbit would have of stopping an express. *It is therefore dangerous for us to pay any attention to those who are befogged and bamboozled into thinking that Germany and England can be united in the bonds of brotherly love through the medium of high teas and tea-fights generally.*

War is a horrible and dreadful thing for everybody, and the only way for England not to have war with Germany is for England to get ready. Civility is a beautiful idea, but when a man is getting ready to knife you, the best way to bring him to a brotherly frame of mind is to show him that you know what he is up to, and that you are fully prepared for him.

Never mind the English people who say there is no danger of Prussia precipitating Germany upon us. *There is danger. And every Englishman who lives in Germany knows that there is danger.*

The Socialists say that the German armed millions could not be used by the military party. But the merest tyro of a student of humanity would know that this is nonsense. In a country such as Germany, where individuality has been systematically and scientifically crushed, the masses have no voice at all.

Prussia is the tail that wags the dog.

### Overwhelming Evidence

I may say here in explanation that I went to Germany with a strong prepossession in favour of the German people, and I still have that prepossession. *But it would be an ill service did not*

one point out the danger to England of German militarism. I had intended at first not to dwell upon this point, but the evidence that the German war-party means to fight England for her possessions is so overwhelming that one cannot but speak. And it is wiser for the English people to know of the danger that threatens them. It is always safest to look a fact in the face.

Yes, the evidence of this danger is overwhelming.

The English people must know. And the English people must realise that the vote-catching politicians of Westminster are the unsafest guides in this matter. In the first place, Westminster is not here on the spot. And politicians are too busy either catching votes or getting in the limelight to know much that is of real value to England. The real situation will have to be explained in the Press. And the Press, in the matter of Prussian design, has done yeoman service before. It must not be forgotten that the great journalist Blowitz was largely instrumental in preventing Bismarck from forcing a bloody and desolating war upon France.

#### Secret Trials of France

No one will ever know the terrible humiliations that the men who have governed France have had to endure in secret since the war of 1870. I am not particularly in sympathy with the people who govern, but it must have been a hard thing for a Frenchman to have held over him the threat of drenching his country in blood if he did not bend before the sway of Prussia. It must have been a dreadful thing.

I well know that there are weak-kneed and weak-headed Englishmen who will say that I am writing mischievously in writing thus. But that troubles me little. England must realise her danger the better to face it. As for the English friends of the enemy among us, we must let them and what they have to say pass. We produce such people among us for our sins.

Understand me. I am not blaming the German people. I say this again and again. I am only pointing out the fact that *there is the danger of a small knot of Prussians forcing on one of the most horrible and desolating wars to be known in the history of mankind.* And absolutely the only thing to influence this knot of Huns is force. They are amenable to no moral or intellectual influence. This is a terrible thing to say. But it is true.

NOTE.—The italics have been inserted in the present reproduction of these articles, as in others in this book.

August 8th.

#### A German Boast

A "Daily Mail" article on the new German Dreadnoughts (from special information from the Berlin correspondent) urged the danger to England of any reduction in building, and pointed out the rapidity of German construction. The German

Press devoted great attention to this article. "The National Zeitung" claimed that Germany, "now that she had acquired such an undoubted superiority over England in the manufacture of iron and steel, must steadily grow in power as a shipbuilding state. The nation with the greatest steel industry is destined in the course of time to secure the command of the sea."

August 23rd.

#### The Obvious Moral

If the German Government continues its preparations for a great naval war, the moral is obvious.

There is, of course, no reason why two nations such as England and Germany should not conduct their relations with courtesy, and we hope and trust that such courtesy will be abundantly displayed on either side of the North Sea. But, after all, politeness cannot change the vital facts, which are that Germany is arming while England is disarming, and that Germany's entire future depends upon obtaining the supremacy of the seas, which have hitherto rested in the grasp of England.

September 3rd.

#### The Kaiser and Mr. Haldane

The British public has followed Mr. Haldane's visit to Berlin with curiosity and interest, and it will not show itself insensible to the charm and graciousness which the Emperor William has so abundantly manifested towards one whom he has treated as an honoured guest . . . The time may come when it will be able to return these favours in kind, and thus practically to reciprocate the Kaiser's courtesies. But pleasant though these amenities are, and useful, as lessening the friction which has risen between the two great States, they cannot change the essential fact that Germany still continues to build a great fleet and to prepare without haste, but also without rest, for a great naval war.

NOTE.—Mr. Haldane was overloaded with favours in Berlin, and was received, from the Emperor downwards, with marked and unprecedented attentions.

September 4th.

#### Our interview with Prince Buelow

Prince Buelow assures the British people that "he desires the friendship of this country." We can well believe that his words are true and sincere, but there is this suppressed condition behind them—that Britain must merit such friendship by impossible concessions to Germany.

With regard to the fast-growing German Navy, Prince Buelow has forgotten history when he tells England that "it is sheer nonsense to argue that Germany thinks of competing with England for the



mastery of the sea." The words of the preamble of the German Navy Act of 1900, drawn up when Prince Buelow was Foreign Minister for Germany, are there to prove the contrary. The preamble starts by recalling the fact that the Navy Act of 1898 "has not made provision for the possibility of a naval war against a great Power"; and continues, "under existing circumstances, in order to protect Germany's sea trade and Colonies, there is one means only—viz., Germany must have so strong a fleet that even for the mightiest naval Power a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardise its own supremacy." These words have no meaning if they do not apply to England, and when we scrutinise the acts which have followed them we find that this year Germany is laying down three large armoured ships to the British three, and that next year she will be laying down three to the British two.

#### "Our Future Lies Upon The Water"

"Our future lies upon the water," said the Kaiser years ago. Count Buelow, as he then was, in December, 1899, after the British reverses in South Africa, asked whether humanity stood upon the eve of a "fresh partition of the world as in the last century," and based upon the South African question a demand for a much larger fleet. "Unsere Zukunft liegt auf dem wasser," is in fact, the leit-motiv of modern German policy. Nor are Germans likely to be discouraged in their aims by their own history. The record of Imperial Germany is a record of seemingly insuperable obstacles successfully surmounted by patience, science, and determination. There was a time when it seemed hopeless for Prussia to rival the military power of France. We can well believe that Prince Buelow sees the dangers of a policy the

issue of which must be that England must bow to Germany's will at sea, or take certain disastrous consequences, when the German plans are complete and the British Cabinet has sufficiently weakened the British Navy.

*For our part we believe that the surest means of promoting satisfactory relations with the two Powers, is for England resolutely to maintain her naval supremacy, and not, by reducing the strength of her fleet, to subject the military party in Germany to temptations which it might not be able to resist. At all costs this country should avoid a policy of puerile recriminations, cries for disarmament, and querulous complaints because Germany chooses to build a great navy. But the misfortune of England is that she is ruled by men who are the slaves of phrases, and who do not see clearly, through the haze of sentimental aspirations and not ungenerous imaginations, the essential and remorseless facts of international life as they exist to-day.*

#### More Espionage—German "Tourists"

In September an impudent attempt was made by a large German "tourist" steamer to lay up in Portsmouth harbour, so that the innocent German "tourists" on board (who, even for German tourists, were singularly plentifully supplied with cameras, field-glasses, and sketch books) could take home to the Fatherland "mementos" of the harbour, the dockyard, and battleships. Bad weather was alleged as the reason for the vessel seeking shelter in Portsmouth Harbour—a report that did not tally with the barometer.

The captain of the tourist steamer was politely informed by the authorities of the harbour that he could find a more and equally secure haven in the Solent.

1907

January 23th.

**A TURNING POINT IN HISTORY**

Whatever view be taken of the import and significance of the German elections, there can be no denying the fact that they constitute a notable triumph for the Emperor and mark a turning point in European history. The Kaiser appealed to his people on a definite issue: "Will you make sacrifices for your Empire, for your Navy, for your Colonies? Will you face the dear food and high railway fares for what I, your ruler, believe to be the highest interest of Germany? Will you stand with me, your anointed sovereign, against a party of disorder and revolution?" The German nation has answered, "We will." It has voted confidence in the Emperor and condemnation of the Socialists, "foes of the nation and the Fatherland."

. . . Cavour foretold fifty years ago that in days to come the German Empire would combat and rival England on the seas, and the recent disclosures of Hohenlohe Memoirs confirm this prophecy of genius. "Our future lies upon the waters," the Kaiser incessantly proclaims, and now we know that his people are with him in his belief.

His prestige is immensely enhanced, his hands incalculably strengthened, by the vote of last week, and his Government will now be able to carry out with all possible energy its project of constructing and organising a Navy which shall be at sea what the German Army is on land. Meanwhile England, ruled by demagogues who do not realise that vital national issues are decided, "not by speeches and the votes of majorities, but by iron and by blood," and all unconscious of the coming danger, is saving money on her Fleet to spend it in doles to the voters.

February 4th.

**No North Sea Fleet**

It is, indeed, almost amazing to discover that there is to-day no organised British Fleet in the North Sea. Except a few destroyers at Sheerness and the "disjecta membra" of the Home Fleet at the same port, in the shape of half a dozen battle-ships with reduced crews, the Admiralty have left that sea without defence of any kind. The main force of the British Navy is to be massed during the present month off the coast of Spain. It might just as well be in the West Indies. If the Fleet is to be concentrated, it is absolutely vital for the nation that the concentration should be in the right place, and the right place is in the closest practicable proximity to the force of the most formidable Naval Power.

A further leader on February 9th urged concentration of the Navy in as few fleets as possible, pointing out that the British Navy was all "detachments," and that the German Navy acts upon the principle of concentration.

March 11th.

**Do Not Exasperate Us**

Under the heading, "Fear of England," the "Neue Politische Correspondenz," a Berlin news agency which is frequently the mouth-piece of "official" utterances of the Kaiser's Government, published a "warning" to England, of which the following was the conclusion:

"England is a Colossus with feet of clay. She will do well not to provide too heatedly the world-historic decision as to whom supremacy in Europe belongs. She has brusquely repelled the friendship offered by Germany with more enthusiasm than statesmanlike wisdom, and has spun around us a diplomatic net which already unpleasantly hampers the freedom of our movements.

"If she continues in this course, the inclination will some day possess us to tear this artificial net ruthlessly to pieces before we are hemmed in so tightly that we cannot move. Even the entente cordiale need have no terrors for us. If France wishes to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for England, we shall undertake to make the fire plentifully hot.

"Germany has, at present, 5,500,000 soldiers who are not available on paper, but actually. The French Army, through Monarchical-Clerical agitation on the one hand, and Republican-Socialistic machinations on the other, has become perceptibly disorganised. The field army which Germany will place in service on the first day of mobilisation will be sufficient to crush France, even if a part of it is detached for operations against England.

"We wish sincerely to live in peace with France and England, but that can only be if England henceforth refrains from a diplomatic policy which, sooner or later must lead to war—a war which, as we are firmly convinced, will be the beginning of the end for the British Empire."

April 18th.

**Germany's "No"**

The answer to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's offer, made last July, to build one less Dreadnought this year if foreign Powers would reduce their programmes, has been the prompt



ordering of the German battleships of the 1907 programme. No hope can be placed in disarmament, and the only wise plan for the United Kingdom is to maintain steadily and unflinchingly the two-Power standard in ships built and building. Any other course must imperil the very existence of this country and of the British Empire.

April 24th.

### ENGLAND THE ENEMY

The hope that Germany may be induced by polite arguments at the Hague Conference to diminish her armaments on land must be finally dismissed after General von Einem's speech in the Reichstag yesterday. Since a fortnight ago we announced that the orders had already been hurriedly given for the German Dreadnoughts of this year's programme, it is clear that disarmament is practically dead. It would be superlative folly for the other Powers to weaken their forces when the strongest and almost the most populous State in Europe ostentatiously announces its intention to "set a fast time" for the sake of "the spirit of the Army and the enthusiasm of the nation."

We have no reason to quarrel with General von Einem. German soldiers have never been enamoured of sentimentalities, but have learnt to look at the grim realities of international life and to speak in straightforward, sensible fashion. The German War Minister knows what his country's aims are, and does not hesitate to carry them out. It would, perhaps, be too much to hope that so vigorous an utterance may reach the British Cabinet, and awaken it to the danger and folly of the plans for reducing the Navy and weakening the defences of this country. *All the fine words in the world cannot disguise the fact that the naval competition between England and Germany is intense, and that Germany is now building a great fleet with the express object of meeting the British Navy at sea.* The offer of the British Government to lay down one less Dreadnought this year, provided other Powers would do the same, has met with absolutely no response; indeed, it has been represented in Germany as an artful trap laid for the foolish Germans by a particularly designing British politician.

### German Government Machinations

Behind the continued armaments of Germany is the further fact that the German Government is studiously encouraging the legend that England is fixedly hostile to the German people. With such patience and persistence is this legend being circulated that there is clearly a political object inspiring such action. Does King Edward pay a series of friendly visits to European Monarchs with whom this country has close and intimate ties of friendship, he is at once accused of encompassing a great

coalition against Germany. In every quarter of the Kaiser's Empire such fables are published, and, when they are denied at all, the denial is so worded as to carry no conviction. These tactics have been pursued for years, and they may continue for years longer. During the Boer War, though the German Government was perfectly informed through its attachés of the irreproachable behaviour of the British troops, Prince Buelow denounced as an insult to Germany a harmless comparison between the conduct of the British and German armies. The effect was to lead Germans to imagine that Mr. Chamberlain had offered a deliberate affront to Germany. In exactly the same way the impression has been conveyed that Cape Colony has aided and abetted the Hottentot and half-caste insurgents in German South-West Africa. At every turn, and on every possible occasion, the German people are led to believe that England is the bitter enemy of Germany.

### A Deliberate Policy

Thus the German Government is living in an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred, which it has deliberately created. There is every indication that the present German policy will be maintained till the great German Fleet of the future is ready. Then the German Government will be able to recall a long series of complaints against Britain and British policy, which it has recorded year after year, as justifying violent action against England. *On our part, we have said before, and we may say once again, that the British people have every desire to live in peace with their neighbours. They will never wage a war to obtain prestige, which was the phrase used by the great Moltke when stating the motives of Prussia in the struggle with Austria. They have no imaginable motive for attacking Germany.* The pretence that Germany is being "isolated" is simply puerile, when we remember that the German Army can put a million more men into the field than any other European Power, and that it has at its back the armies of Austria and Italy; while England, with an insignificant land force, has not a single military alliance on the Continent. But unless German statesmen change their ways, until they cease to misrepresent British policy with such energy and consistency, England will be wise to strengthen rather than weaken her defence. She does not view the German Navy with the slightest jealousy, but common prudence must compel her to lay down two ships to the German one, and thus to prolong peace by rendering an unexpected attack out of the question.

May 1st.

### The Cause of German Alarm

The state of excitement into which Sir Henry has thrown Germany by disarmament proposals

in the "Nation" has disclosed certain facts. It has made the German people think aloud and reveal the deeper purpose of their national policy. Only last Monday we published a summary of an extraordinary article in the usually restrained Berlin "Post," which asserted that war between England and Germany was now inevitable. It even abandoned the well-worn German insinuation that England meditates war. "Nobody in Germany," it wrote, "doubts England's abhorrence of war, but abhorrence of war has nothing to do with Anglo-German relations. The conditions of Germany's development and her rivalry with England for world-power would of themselves bring about a fatal collision." These are words upon which the English party which is cutting down the British Navy might well reflect, for they are a plain warning.

May 1st.

### Prince Buelow

Prince Buelow, in an address to the Reichstag, thus disposed of the question of disarmaments:

"Germany cannot be placed under any pressure, even under a moral one." He entirely scouted any possibility of the consideration of disarmament proposals, declaring that "the danger of the contact of antagonistic interests may have effect the very reverse of those aimed at."

May 13th.

### War Fever in Germany

The first of a series of articles which Mr. Austen Harrison is contributing to our contemporary, "The Observer," on the relations of England and Germany deserves the attention of all thoughtful Englishmen for the gravity of the warning it conveys. Mr. Harrison has studied German feeling on the spot, and in no unfriendly spirit. His relationship to Mr. Frederic Harrison, whose views are at once ultra-Liberal and Pacifist, is a guarantee in itself against any Jingo animosity on his part.

Mr. Harrison reports that German Anglophobia is increasing in scope and intensity. "An electric war-current seems to be in the very air." There is a conviction that war with England is not only possible, but also probable, and its coming has ceased to be merely a matter of jest or wild surmise. The most serious fact, however, which Mr. Harrison discloses is the persevering consistency of the attempts of the German Government to fasten upon England the blame for this unfortunate state of affairs. The German army and navy, and the German nation, are being brought to believe that the British Government is meditating a sudden and treacherous attack upon Germany. The semi-official paragraphs attacking King Edward for the

imaginary offence of "isolating Germany," and the alarms and excursions of the past three years, are all part and parcel of the campaign. *Believing, as the German Government does, that a final struggle for world-power with England is inevitable, it is paving the way for that struggle by representing England as the enemy and the aggressor. It is thus in advance ensuring the full support of the German nation for any blow which it may suddenly deal.* While maintaining feeling in Germany at fever-heat by bellicose utterances, it is simultaneously endeavouring to lull British vigilance to rest by protestations of friendship, intended solely for foreign consumption. *And in the meantime it is pressing its naval armaments with unwearying vigilance and energy.*

### German Nerves

A high official in the Government service declared to the "Daily Mail" Berlin correspondent:

"There is a crisis between England and Germany, and it would be useless to deny it. It is not a sudden outbreak. The feeling in German military, official, and private circles is that England, sooner or later, intends to make war on Germany, to crush her Fleet, destroy her trade, ruin her future, and reduce her to penury and Anglo-Saxon vassalage. It looks rosy enough, you may say, with your Peace Congress and concatenation of friendships and alliances, but we Germans know what pointed dagger is hid in the lining of your white peace mantle. The two Sovereigns are playing like wrestlers with one another while seeking for a hold. I can only say that had England a contiguous frontier to Germany there would have been a war when your King went to Gaeta."

*In the Reichstag Herr Bebel declared that if an honest endeavour were being made to make Germany the first Power in the world, his party gave it unqualified support.*

May 20th.

The "Daily Mail" quoted a further article by Mr. Austin Harrison:

"On the eve of the Peace Conference, Germany stands in the centre of Europe in mailed coat, defiant, exasperated, determined, at bay, as it were, with her right hand on the scabbard. Old Germany is dead; the new generation, saturated in world-political dreams and ambitions, has been educated to the understanding of a forward maritime policy. The women are as enthusiastic for the Navy as are the men. All Germany believes England is bent on her destruction.



"It is a significant fact that whereas formerly Germans accused their Emperor of over-zealous ambition, dangerous personal and national expansiveness, and reckless enthusiasm, now the voice of the people—since Algeciras—taunts him with prudence, political pusillanimity, and over-careful regard for other people's feelings. The elections showed that the Radical wing and all the Liberal sections are pronounced militant Imperialists. Since then the Socialists have declared publicly for a national army. The young are fired with the new spirit of Pan-German Imperialism, and mothers educate their sons in that sense."

August 31st.

### The First English Airship

In England we are lagging behind, to our peril. We may still, no doubt, regard the sea "as a moat defensive to our house"; nor has the airship yet destroyed the protective value of our island. But a hostile fleet co-operating with an aerial navy is a prospect Nelson with a fleet of Dreadnoughts might not face with hope of victory. Even as an intelligence department, the airship might change the odds of a crucial fight and upset the balance of armaments.

It is therefore more than welcome news that our Army authorities are making effective preparations to reduce this handicap. The new and certain fact faces us that the apparatus of war is increased by an engine full of vast and incalculable possibilities of mischief, and for the moment singularly invulnerable.

September 18th.

### Organisation—The Backbone

A "Daily Mail" writer on the German Army:

"It is not nearly as good as it ought to be, considering the men, material, and facilities for training it has at its disposal. The Germans may have studied the lessons of the South African and Far Eastern campaigns, but they certainly have not taken those lessons to heart. Their uniforms, though impressive on parade, are far too conspicuous for the battlefield, and the formations and tactics which they adopt at manœuvres are unsuited to the conditions of modern warfare.

"If Germany has to fight a European army before she adopts more modern methods of warfare, she will suffer great loss of men (and prestige), at the beginning of the campaign. Whether her vast resources of men and of Teutonic patriotism will prove equal to the ordeal the occasion alone, when

it arrives, can prove; but one thing is certain: she will have as a backbone in those first dark days of disillusion and reverse—days which we Britons remember only too vividly in our own case—something solid to fall back upon, something which we never had, something even which we have not got at the present moment—namely, an organisation so perfect and complete in every detail that one marvels all the more deeply at our present lack of war training."

### German Army Tactics

#### A Forecast of 1914. Tommy Atkins

"Ten years ago, when the Kaiser led 20,000 cavalry in a charge, he asked General von Waldersee to give his opinion.

"Most willingly," said the general. "There are not trees enough in your dominions to furnish wood for the coffins of the men slain to-day if bullets had been used."

Ironic "Daily Mail" comment: "To-morrow the manœuvres conclude. Six cavalry brigades, most of which have already been exterminated once, will probably play a prominent part."

The "Daily Mail" correspondent, again describing the manœuvres, dwelt on the close formation, "friend and foe hopelessly mixed at short ranges," "Waterloo rather than Liao-Yang," "12,000 men all firing at an equal number of the enemy doing exactly the same at a range of 100-500 yards."

The "Daily Mail" prophesied German tactical failure in actual warfare.

"There is much which England might, with advantage, copy from Kaiserland; there is also much which Germany would do wisely to copy from us. One thing alone she cannot copy or produce, and that 'thing' is that which has won victory for England on innumerable battlefields throughout the world; it is a thing which has its faults, but it has also many great sterling qualities inherited from a race of hard fighters. That 'thing' is known to the English-speaking world by the simple name of 'Tommy Atkins.'"

### The Future

*For the handwriting on the wall is written large: who runs may read.* In the words of Dr. Johnson: "Sir, let us clear our minds of cant," or, in other words, "humbug," and, as we know what the future has in store for us, let us be prepared to meet it.

The world to-day is an armed camp; rumours of war come from both east and west, nor are the sparks wanting that may at any time ignite the loose

powder that has been so carelessly strewn in bountiful profusion.

The Nelson celebration is, or should be, the outward manifestation of the nation's resolve that, come what may, our sea supremacy must and shall be maintained; otherwise it means nothing, or worse than nothing, for in the place of high resolve it degenerates either into complacently patting ourselves on the back for sacrifices made by our predecessors in which we took neither hand nor part, or:

"Such boasting as the Gentiles use,  
Or lesser breeds without the law;  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

#### The Rise of German Naval Estimates

1898	..	..	..	..	£5,900,000
1899	.	..	..	..	6,500,000
1900	.	..	..	..	7,400,000
1901	..	..	..	..	9,600,000
1902	..	..	..	..	10,000,000
1903	..	..	..	..	10,200,000
1904	..	..	..	..	10,500,000
1905	..	..	..	..	11,400,000
1906	..	..	..	..	12,400,000
1907	..	..	..	..	13,900,000
1908	..	..	..	..	17,000,000

November 25th.

#### The Ever-Growing German Navy

Dealing with the fact that the German Naval Estimates for 1903 involve an outlay of £17,000,000, an advance of over £3,000,000 on the estimates of the present year, and the further news that the German estimates were to rise to £20,000,000 in 1909, to £22,000,000 in 1910, and to £23,000,000 in 1911, in addition to which a sum of £11,000,000 to be spent on widening the Kiel Canal, the "Daily Mail" said:

These are plans as grandiose in conception as were Napoleon's naval schemes, and, like his, laid far ahead. The dominant idea is to build a fleet which should fulfil the hopes and desires of the Pan-Germans, and be mightier than the mightiest navy in the world. It cannot be said that this great expansion in Germany's naval force has been provoked by the action of any European Power. The Russian Navy has vanished as the result of the war in the Far East; the French Navy is no longer being maintained up to its old standard, and the French estimates this year showed a slight decrease. The British Navy estimates have exhibited the heaviest reduction of all.

December 23rd.

#### Plain Talk by Mr. Stead

"The time has come when, to clear the air, we need to speak out quite plainly on the subject of the Navy.

"The British Empire floats upon the sea. The command of the sea is the condition of its existence as an independent State. The maintenance of an irresistible superiority at sea is the absolute sine qua non of our national life. On this subject there is no difference of opinion among us. There are, it is true, two schools. One relies almost exclusively for safety upon the strength of the Navy. The other insists that it is necessary to safeguard the realm from invasion by the adoption of universal compulsory military service.

"To weaken the Navy is not merely to increase the danger of foreign invasion; it is enormously to strengthen the case in favour of conscription.

"The essential question is the maintenance of the supremacy of the British Navy, the irresistible superiority of the British Navy, without which we should exist only by sufferance of our neighbours, and would inevitably be driven to conscription.

"What we tried to do in 1899 and in 1907 was to secure an international guarantee for the naval and military status quo for a term of ten years. As I had occasion to explain last February to the heads of the German Foreign Office, such an agreement was equivalent, so long as it lasted, to an international guarantee of the naval supremacy of Great Britain. But as it was also equivalent to an international guarantee of the military supremacy of Germany over France, and of Austria over Italy, it was fair all round.

#### An Avowed Programme

"We need not worry over their military expenditure. But their naval programme is avowedly intended to alter the relative positions of the German and British Navies—to the detriment of Great Britain.

"We shall maintain the status quo, no matter what it costs. We cannot do otherwise, unless we acquiesce in our extinction as an independent State.

"We make no complaint against the German Government. The Germans are entirely within their rights if they decide to challenge the naval supremacy of Great Britain. We can, indeed, sympathise with them in their dissatisfaction with the status quo. So far from having strengthened their position in the world by building a fleet, they have weakened it, and until they can make their fleet as strong as ours, or stronger, the whole German Navy is virtually a hostage in the hands of the stronger naval Power.

"In like manner, so long as the German Navy is inferior to our own, so long the German head is within the jaws of the British lion. It is natural they



should wish to reverse the position, but we naturally wish to preserve the status quo."

December 27th.

#### **British Reduction—German Increase**

Our position is very simple. We say nothing about rivalry. We merely stand by the status quo. It is our duty to see to it that relative proportion of naval strength now existing is not altered to our disadvantage.

We sought to secure this at The Hague in 1899 and in 1907 by an international agreement. We failed, and we have now to maintain it in the future, as in the past, by each doing the best we can for

ourselves in a cut-throat competition, for which we are not responsible, and which we are willing to terminate to-morrow if Germany will but consent.

But, instead of arresting or reducing her armaments, Germany has responded to our reduction of naval expenditure, amounting to five millions between 1904 and 1907, by increasing her expenditure in the same period by three and a half millions, and she now proposes to increase it by three millions more next year. When the first Hague Conference was held, Germany spent annually six and a half millions on her Navy. In 1911 she will, by her new programme, be spending twenty-three millions.

*There is no mistaking the significance of these figures.*

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# 1908

## SIR JOHN BRUNNER'S EVIL WORK

In March, a section of 130 Radicals and Labour members, led by Sir John Brunner, Sir W. J. Collins, and Mr. Murray Macdonald, in the words of the "Daily Mail," "moved heaven and earth" to cut down Navy expenditure.

Sir John Brunner (son of an alien schoolmaster and millionaire chairman of Brunner, Mond and Co., the great alkali firm), in seconding Mr. Murray Macdonald's resolution (March 2nd) in the House of Commons for a reduction of armaments, asked, "*Where is the danger that now confronts us?*" How, one wonders, does Sir John Brunner answer his own question in 1914?

The "Daily Mail's" comment (February 7th) was as follows:

The increase in the Navy Estimates is necessitated by the fact that the German Government has decided to lay down four Dreadnoughts each year instead of three, and nearly to double the outlay on the Fleet. This challenge to British supremacy, as Mr. Stead has very rightly described it, has not been provoked by any action on England's part. Between 1904 and 1907 the British Government offered to abandon one Dreadnought in the programme of that year, provided other nations would respond. This generous proposal met with no reply from the other Powers at the Hague Conference, and Germany has since answered it with her new Navy Bill. Now, for England, who has no army of 5,000,000 conscripts, the maintenance of her naval supremacy is a matter of life and death. Any weakening of the Fleet means the interruption of her food supplies, the starvation of millions of her people, the destruction of the shipping and the industries by which they win their daily bread, and the ultimate certainty of invasion. Because the risks run by this country are so inordinate, and because its very life and existence are bound up with the command of the sea, its Navy must be certain of maritime supremacy from the first hour of the war, and must be able to sweep from the seas the fleet of any antagonist.

March 3rd.

There is no case for those who advocate expenditure upon an inadequate and unready Fleet, because this is the worst form of waste. It is like the conduct of an engineer who would provide a fifty-foot bridge to cross a sixty-foot river.

"There is nothing to choose between sea supremacy and ruin," said Admiral Colomb many years ago. But this fact has not dawned upon the Little

Navy agitators. Sir John Brunner contended that England was at peace with all the world, though he never asked himself why Germany is building her colossal navy.

## The Tweedmouth Sensation

German-British relations came into the limelight yet again in March, 1908, with what was called the "Tweedmouth Sensation," a letter written by the German Emperor to Lord Tweedmouth, First Lord of the Admiralty, obviously an attempt to interfere in British naval policy. Considerable excitement developed, both in England and Germany. But the "Daily Mail" took the incident coolly, suggesting in a leading article that the naïf pleasure of a recipient of Imperial confidences had led him into "an indiscretion of vanity in making known to his friends the contents of the letter."

March 7th.

There is not in this half-disclosed epistolary comedy the making of a scare, much less of an international crisis. Circumstances and divergent national destinies must keep England and Germany watching each other in the open, the one determining not to be outstripped in the naval race, the other refusing to weary in her efforts. The idea of deceiving either the one or the other by such a foolish stratagem as this letter is so far from practicable that no intelligent man would attempt it.

March 9th.

## A Graver Side

But, amusing as this affair is in its personal aspects, it has yet a graver side, since it has once more drawn attention to the relations between Britain and Germany. The German Emperor is said to have asked in the letter why, in British discussion of naval policy, the German fleet was always made the standard of comparison with the British, and why the United States, Japanese, and French navies were passed over in silence. The answer is that Germany has plainly announced her ambition and desire to be supreme upon the sea. It is a great ambition of a great, a virile people. But for Britain to allow this ambition to be accomplished spells the loss of the British Empire, even of the independence of the United Kingdom. Supremacy is not a thing that can be divided or shared with a rival, and, as Admiral Colomb has said, there is "nothing for England between sea supremacy and ruin."



A dominant factor in world-politics to-day is the volcanic desire of Germany for maritime expansion. In Germany the prospect of rivalry with Britain is calmly accepted and faced; whatever is done on this side of the North Sea, Germans will endeavour to get ahead of us in shipbuilding. But to assume that there is any statesman of the front rank on either side in this country who does not understand and recognise the position is absurd. We do not think so meanly of our Ministers, whether Unionists or Liberal, as to suppose that they are capable of being seduced from their responsibilities by the personal condescension of any foreign sovereign. Our duty is, then, not to be perturbed by little incidents, but to emulate "that precision of view, that submission to facts, that disdain of abstractions, that professional conscientiousness, and that intensity of will," which, as Professor Dennis says in his masterly history of the foundation of the German Empire, have been the real secrets of German success.

June 10th.

#### The French View

The "Daily Mail" quoted extensively two remarkable articles in the French "Temps," which criticised the weakness of British naval and military preparations. The writer said:

*"Though in the Atlantic and her dependent seas Great Britain maintains her position, she is directly threatened by the ever-increasing German naval power. Armed conflict is inevitable sooner or later. The two countries' interests are too much opposed for an entente to be possible. When this conflict will come, and how it will arise, none can tell, but the conflict is inevitable."*

Here is a second article—dealing with the give-and take aspects of the Entente Cordiale:

*"Great Britain must have an army more powerful than that she at present possesses. A working army capable of energetic Continental action is absolutely necessary to this eventual alliance which will associate France with the political risks of England, and associate England with the military risks of France."*

*"If, some day, an Anglo-Franco-Russian entente, the bases of which are henceforth to be determined, should, for the peace of the world, become permanent, if, in other words, a treaty should give it contract form—it is necessary that that treaty should impose on each requisite sacrifices, on France and Russia enlightened concern for their naval power, and on England profound reform of her land forces."*

In June, 1908, the German Press indulged in another severe attack of "nerves" and Anglo-

phobia brought on by the meeting of the King and the Czar, and on other demonstrations of Anglo-Russian and Anglo-French good feeling.

July 4th.

#### The Command of the Air—and a Forecast

Not without reason has the German Emperor—no mean judge of the importance of contemporary events—declared that Count Zeppelin's balloon voyage into Switzerland marks the "beginning of a new national era." For this is the first occasion upon which a military dirigible airship has crossed an international frontier, sailed above the territory of a foreign State, hovered over its towns, exchanged messages with the inmates of hotels in those towns, rising and descending at will, and finally returned at high speed whence it came. Such a voyage is a startling event. It must call the attention of every Government and War Office to the fast-developing potentialities of airships and especially aeroplanes.

The Power without craft which can navigate the air will clearly be at a signal disadvantage in war, and we may be very near indeed to the days when the command of the air will be a matter to be seriously discussed and questioned.

From the British standpoint the conquest of the air cannot be pronounced a desirable result. Admiral Lord St. Vincent, when Pitt decided to experiment with the first and most primitive form of torpedo, declared, "Pitt is the greatest fool that ever existed to encourage a mode of warfare which those who command the sea do not want, and which, if successful, would deprive them of their command." For if, as Professor Hergesell, who shared Count Zeppelin's voyage, has prophesied, we "may live to see the dirigible the accepted means of locomotion that the motor-car is to-day," then we will to all intents and purposes have ceased to be an island. What will avail the command of the sea if an enemy can arrive by another element? The "silver streak" will have lost its protective value, and *there will be nothing to prevent the aerial chariots of a foe from descending upon British soil save only an overwhelming aerial navy in the hands of the British nation.*

July 11th.

#### Consummate Ease

There is this certain fact with which England has to reckon, that Zeppelin No. IV. has carried out the most remarkable voyage ever attempted by an aerostat. For half a day she hovered above a foreign territory, and was controlled with consummate ease. This feat has proved that she is in advance of the types possessed by all other nations. The French "dirigibles" have accomplished nothing so wonderful, and the British Nulli Secundus makes a very poor show beside her German competitor. This is not as it should be. England cannot afford

to be outdistanced by any rival. Whether from the military or the commercial point of view, the airship will be of incalculable service in the future, and the construction of such vessels will unquestionably become a great industry. It is, therefore, vital that experiments should be made to produce a British airship, and that ample funds for such experiments should be forthcoming. It was only after the expenditure of enormous sums of money and after many failures, that Count Zeppelin achieved his present success. But it is now morally certain that not many years will pass before airships are in existence capable of travelling not for twelve hours or for twenty-four hours—the feat which is to be attempted by Zeppelin No. IV. next week—but for two or three days in the air.

### Germany's Air Madness

Herr Rudolf Martin, author of books on war in air, and "Is a World-War Imminent?" pointed out how England was losing her insular character by the development of airships and aeroplanes.

"In a world-war," he said to a "Daily Mail" correspondent, "Germany would have to spend two hundred million sterling in motor-airships and a similar amount in aeroplanes, to transport 350,000 men in half an hour during the night from Calais to Dover. *Even to-day the landing of a great German army in England is a mere matter of money. I am opposed to a war between England and Germany, but should it break out to-day it would last at least two years, for we would conclude no peace until a German army had occupied London.*

"In my judgment it would take years for us to build motor-airships enough simultaneously to throw 350,000 men into Dover via Calais. The ships which the Zeppelin works in Friedrichshafen will build during the next few months are likely to be considerably larger than IV., and to carry one hundred persons. There is no technical reason against the construction of Zeppelin airships of 1,100,000 or even 1,700,000 cubic feet capacity, twice or three times the capacity of IV. (500,000 cubic feet)."

July 13th.

Germany is ablaze with airship enthusiasm and interest. The country's concern has been materially heightened by the alleged "nervousness" of England over the rapid development of the German aerial fleet.

August 11th.

### Meeting of King and Kaiser

In August King Edward and the German Emperor met at Cronberg. The welcome of the German Press was distinctly unfriendly. The general expres-

sion was that "the English are in great error if they expect the meeting to have the result of inducing Germany to accept any restrictions on the building of her Navy." The "Frankfurter Zeitung" said that "Altruism can only play a minor part in the competition of nations."

The "Daily Mail" called the attention of English readers to this attitude, saying that the tone of the German Press was remarkably reserved. "Even Liberal papers, such as the 'Tageblatt,' say that 'the best way to deal with England is to show no pacifist enthusiasm.' It would be useless to deny the existence of a feeling of rivalry that often finds perilous expression. In Germany, over which a wave of Chauvinism has swept in recent years, men profess to see in every effort of Great Britain to extend the bounds of peace a deliberate desire to isolate Germany. On the other hand, in the phenomenal growth of the German Navy, Britain sees a menace to her superiority at sea."

Aug. 14th.

### MR. KEIR HARDIE'S BLINDNESS AND IGNORANCE

As an example of the blindness of those who could not see the peril of Germany, and were utterly ignorant of the unreality of German Socialism, it is interesting, in the light of the war of 1914, to quote here the "Daily Mail's" extract of an article written in August, 1908, by Mr. Keir Hardie in the "Labour Leader":

After ridiculing the idea that Germany is making preparations for an invasion, Mr. Hardie asks, assuming that the danger of such an invasion is real, what is the duty of Socialists and Labour men? "When there was trouble threatened between France and Germany over the Morocco affair, what did Jaur's and Bebel do? These representative Socialists toiled unceasingly not only in the interests of peace, but to convince the governing classes in both countries that not only would they oppose war, but that if war broke out there would be industrial developments which would paralyse the whole military system. They saved their countries from getting the fatal feeling that war was 'inevitable.' But Blatchford and Hyndman seem to have set themselves the task of producing that very feeling of 'inevitableness' than which nothing could more strengthen the hands of the war-mongers on both shores of the German Ocean. We can kill the war spirit even before it is born. To Herr Bebel and our German comrades all, hands all round and pledge deep the toast, 'Hoch! hoch! hoch! for the international solidarity of labour and the destruction of the war spirit.'"



1908.

**Mr. Churchill's Ignorance**

But far greater men than Mr. Keir Hardie were blind to the German plot. Mr. Winston Churchill might have been an invaluable friend to the advocates of a strong Navy and a National Service Army if his own realisation had come earlier. This is how he viewed the German menace in 1908 (in a speech at Swansea on August 15th):

"There is no collision of primary interests—big, important interests—between Great Britain and Germany in any quarter of the globe. Why, they are among our very best customers, and if anything were to happen to them I don't know what we should do for a market.

"People said it might be worth while fighting for the sake of the trade. Gentlemen, it is never worth while fighting for the sake of trade. In a month of fighting you would destroy more wealth than the successful trade of five years would produce.

"We are told there are Colonies which could be seized. Why, nothing will alter the destiny of great communities like Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India. Their destiny will not be altered in the future, in my opinion, as the result of any struggle between European Powers.

"What remains as a prize to be fought for by two great countries? Nothing but tropical plantations and small coaling places scattered here and there about the world.

"These two great peoples have nothing to fight about, have no prize to fight for, and no place to fight in.

"What does all this snapping and snarling amount to, after all? How many people do you suppose there are in Germany who really want to make an attack upon this country? *I don't suppose there are ten thousand.* And how many do you think there are in this country? I don't believe there are even that number in this country, if you exclude inmates of Bedlam and writers in the 'National Review.'"

August 19th.

**Mr. Blatchford's Reply**

Mr. Blatchford wrote to the "Daily Mail" a reply to the quoted remarks of Mr. Keir Hardie:

"Mr. Hyndman and I, believing that Germany is preparing to attack England, have taken the very unpopular course of warning the Labour party. Not because we want war, but because we are anxious to prevent it.

"I do not believe that our warning will alter the plans of the German Government one way or the other. I do not believe they will excite the German people. But they may help the Labour party to realise their danger ere it is too late.

"I do not believe that there are 'war-mongers' in England. I have never seen nor heard of a single Englishman mad and bad enough to wish our nation to make war on Germany. There is no 'war party' in England; only a party of defence.

"My fear, and Mr. Hyndman's fear, is that war will be forced upon England, and that it will be forced upon us because Germany believes that we are not prepared for war.

"I write to you because, though I addressed my warning to the Labour party, I am anxious that the whole British people should regard the present situation as sufficiently dangerous to justify a demand on their part for explicit information as to the relations between England and Germany. If there is danger of a terrible war, let us know the danger, so that we may meet it or avert it.

"As a Socialist, because a German attack would be a disaster to Socialism; as an Englishman, because a German attack would be a disaster to England; as a humanitarian, because a war between these two great nations would be a disaster to humanity, I appeal to my fellow-countrymen to dispel the cloud of mystery and suspicion which hangs above us, and to take the humane course of making any invasion of this country impossible.

"If the German naval preparations are really a proof of Germany's pacific feeling towards England, let us prove ourselves worthy of that fraternal and neighbourly regard by making equally peaceful and kindly preparations for the millennium on our side.

"To allow our friends across the North Sea to establish a monopoly of peace-making battleships and trade-making submarines appears to me ungracious and unwise.

"I am, as I said, a humanitarian. But my love for my fellow-men does not divest me of any affection for my own countrymen.

"I am willing and eager to help in any way to establish an *entente* between England and Germany, but I do not regard it as a sacred duty to keep silence when I believe that secret and deadly preparations are being made to strike at the heart of England."

August 31st.

**The Kaiser's Hypocrisy—Remarkable Speech**

At a banquet given at Strasburg, the Kaiser, in proposing a toast, made the following speech:

"I rejoice to be able to express to you my deepest conviction that the peace of Europe is not in danger. It rests on too solid foundations to be easily upset by the incitements and

calumnies provoked by envious and ill-disposed individuals.

"A firm security exists, in the first place, in the conscience of the princes and statesmen of Europe, who know and feel that they are responsible to God for the lives and prosperity of the peoples entrusted to their leadership.

"On the other hand, it is the will and desire of the peoples to make themselves useful by tranquilly pursuing the development of the magnificent achievements of progressive civilisation, and to measure their strength in peaceful rivalry.

"Finally, peace is also assured and guaranteed by our power on sea and land; by the German people in arms. Proud of the manly discipline and love of honour of her armed forces, Germany is determined to keep them on their high level without menace to others, and to develop them as her own interests demand, favouring none, injuring none."

September 11th.

### Imperial Espionage

Considerable feeling and excitement was caused in France by a significant and cynical proposed motor tour of the Kaiser, which was to include a visit across the French frontier "to see the view" from the Schlucht, a famous strategical pass of the Vosges. In consequence of the irritation in France the proposed visit was suddenly abandoned.

October 3rd.

### MR. HARCOURT'S AMAZING BLINDNESS

MR. HARCOURT (speech in Lancashire):

"I will not offer to other nations the temptation which would be afforded by a defenceless England, but having said this, let me assure you that there is not a shade, *not a shadow of foundation* for these half-craven, half-Chauvinist alarms which have been turning the Yellow Press white in a single night. There has not been any period in the last ten or fifteen years—and *I speak with knowledge and a sense of deep responsibility*—in which our relations with Germany—commercial, Colonial, political, and dynastic—have been on a firmer and more friendly footing than they are to-day.

"Our rivalries are only in trade and education, and though I should claim for us the supremacy of the former, I would yield to Germany the palm for perfection in the latter; but of personal animosity there is none between the

rulers, the Governments, or the peoples. And if in either country there is a small class of *publicists who, for selfish and unpatriotic ends*, desire to set the nations at a variance—well, they are the footpads of politics and the enemies of the human race. Keep your heads cool, your Fleet ready, and your tongues civil, and you need not fear the yapping of those pariah curs who foul the kennel in which they live."

October 29th.

### THE KAISER'S FAMOUS INTERVIEW

The Kaiser again thrust himself into the European limelight by an interview granted to the "Daily Telegraph" (and by the courtesy of that journal published also in the "Daily Mail").

The Kaiser expressed pain and disappointment at the continual rejections of his overtures of friendship to the British people, and, as proof of his staunch affection for England, declared that he broke a European coalition which was to have crushed this country during the Boer War.

These were some of the Kaiser's remarks:

"You English are mad, mad—mad as March hares. What has come over you that you are so completely given over to suspicions quite unworthy of a great nation? What more can I do than I have done? I declared with all the emphasis at my command, in my speech at Guildhall, that my heart is set upon peace, and that it is one of my dearest wishes to live on the best of terms with England. Have I ever been false to my word? *Falsehood and prevarication are alien to my nature.*" (!)

(These italics were not in the original report of the speech.)

"My actions ought to speak for themselves, but you listen, not to them, but to those who misinterpret and distort them. That is a personal insult which I feel and resent. To be for ever misjudged, to have my repeated offers of friendship weighed and scrutinised with jealous, mistrustful eyes, taxes my patience severely. I have said time after time that I am a friend of England, and your Press—or, at least, a considerable section of it—bids the people of England refuse my proffered hand, and *insinuates that the other holds a dagger.*

"I repeat that I am the friend of England, but you make things difficult for me. My task is not of the easiest. The prevailing sentiment of large sections of the middle and lower classes of my country is not friendly to England.



**THE KAISER'S FAMOUS INTERVIEW (contd.)**

I am therefore, so to speak, in a minority in my own land."

**An Extraordinary Statement**

Later on the Kaiser made his extraordinary statement as regards the coalition against England :

"It is commonly believed in England that throughout the South African War Germany was hostile to her. German opinion undoubtedly was hostile—bitterly hostile. The Press was hostile; private opinion was hostile. But what of official Germany? Let my critics ask themselves what brought to a sudden stop, and, indeed, to absolute collapse, the European tour of the Boer delegates who were striving to obtain European intervention? They were fêted in Holland; France gave them a rapturous welcome. They wished to come to Berlin, where the German people would have crowned them with flowers. But when they asked me to receive them, I refused. The agitation immediately died away, and the delegation returned empty-handed. Was that, I ask, the action of a secret enemy?

"Again, when the struggle was at its height, the German Government was invited by the Governments of France and Russia to join with them in calling upon England to put an end to the war. The moment had come, they said, not only to save the Boer Republics, but also to humiliate England to the dust. What was my reply? I said that, so far from Germany joining in any concerted European action to put pressure upon England and bring about her downfall, Germany would always keep aloof from politics that could bring her into complications with a Sea Power like England.

"Posterity will one day read the exact terms of the telegram—now in the archives of Windsor Castle—in which I informed the Sovereign of England of the answer I had returned to the Powers which then sought to compass her fall. Englishmen who now insult me by doubting my word should know what were my actions in the hour of their adversity.

"Nor was that all. Just at the time of your Black Week, in the December of 1899, when disasters followed one another in rapid succession, I received a letter from Queen Victoria, my revered grandmother, written in sorrow and affliction, and bearing manifest traces of the anxieties which were preying upon her mind and health. I at once returned a sympathetic reply. Nay, I did more. I bade one of my officers procure for me as exact an account as he could obtain of the number of combatants in South Africa on both sides, and of the actual position of the opposing forces.

**Plan of Campaign**

"With the figures before me I worked out what I considered to be the best plan of campaign under the circumstances, and submitted it to my General Staff for their criticism. Then I despatched it to England, and that document, likewise, is among the State papers at Windsor Castle, awaiting the serenely impartial verdict of history.

"And, as a matter of curious coincidence, let me add that the plan which I formulated ran very much on the same lines as that which was actually adopted by Lord Roberts, and carried by him into successful operation. Was that, I repeat, the act of one who wished England ill? Let Englishmen be just and say.

"But, you will say, what of the German Navy? Surely that is a menace to England. Against whom but England are my squadrons being prepared? If England is not in the minds of those Germans who are bent on creating a powerful fleet, why is Germany asked to consent to such new and heavy burdens of taxation? My answer is clear. Germany is a young and growing empire. She has a worldwide commerce, which is rapidly expanding, and to which the legitimate ambition of patriotic Germans refuses to assign any bounds.

"Germany must have a powerful fleet to protect that commerce and her manifold interests in even the most distant seas. She expects those interests to go on growing, and she must be able to champion them manfully in any quarter of the globe. Germany looks ahead. Her horizons stretch far away. She must be prepared for any eventualities in the Far East. Who can foresee what may take place in the Pacific in the days to come, days not so distant as some believe, but days, at any rate, for which all European Powers with Far Eastern interests ought steadily to prepare?

"Look at the accomplished rise of Japan; think of the possible national awakening of China; and then judge of the vast problems of the Pacific. Only those Powers which have great navies will be listened to with respect, when the future of the Pacific comes to be solved; and if for that reason only Germany must have a powerful fleet. It may be that even England herself will be glad that Germany has a fleet when they speak together on the same side in the great debates of the future."

October 29th.

**The "Daily Mail's" Ironic Comments**

He (the Emperor) tells us that in his anxiety to secure for us the victory in South Africa he went so far as to prepare with his own hand a plan of campaign. Having confronted us with these evidences and protestations, the Emperor is justified in asking why his repeated offers of friendship are "weighed and scrutinised

with jealous and mistrustful eyes." We will tell his Majesty why. It is because the actions of his Ministers do not harmonise with his own words; it is because experience has taught us that sentiment in high places is not always a safe guarantee; it is because Germany has made us look closely at the logic of facts. Let us examine the proofs advanced by the Emperor himself. The return of Dr. Vassel to his consular post at Fez was one of those incidents that create the sort of mistrust of which his Majesty complains. His explanation that Dr. Vassel was prompted only by the desire to look after the private interests of German subjects may be correct—at any rate, it is the excuse offered by his Ministers—but even this simple act was attended with a mystery that courted suspicion of a determination to steal a march on the Powers interested in Morocco. Can the Emperor complain if in this country, as well as in France, a sinister motive was ascribed to the secret and precipitate return of his agent to the Court of a Pretender who was seeking—with the open support of Germany—to secure recognition of his act of usurpation?

The second example of the Emperor's desire to befriend Great Britain comes upon us, we confess, with a shock of surprise. That the hand which wrote the famous telegram of congratulation to President Kruger after the defeat and capture of the Jameson raiders should be the hand to draft a plan of campaign to defeat the Boers, and submit it to the supreme authority in this country, is a paradox most amazing. Were it alleged of any other person then the Emperor William we should be disposed to regard it as a myth. But the German Emperor must not be judged by the rules applied to ordinary mortals. He is—and we say it with all seriousness and respect—a man apart; one of those rare and powerful personalities in whose actions it is vain to look for consistency. To what are we to ascribe this extraordinary intervention? Was it prompted by sympathy with the sorrow and affliction of a "revered grandmother," or was it only another instance of the Emperor's determination to be regarded as the *deus ex machina* in all that concerns the affairs of the world? This marvellous plan of campaign, we are told, reposes among the State papers in Windsor Castle "awaiting the serenely impartial verdict of history." Until yesterday the British people were ignorant of this Imperial intervention; they believed that their ultimate triumph in South Africa was the work of Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, and Sir George White. Never for a moment did they suspect the German

Emperor of sharing that triumph. Can they be blamed if they interpreted the attitude of Germany, not by secret plans of campaign, but by the avowed sentiments of the German people, sentiments so base and injurious, so cruel in their injustice to our humanity, that they left on the mind of our people an ineffaceable impression?

A new suspicion has been created by the strenuous growth of the German Navy. With this, too, the Emperor deals in the manner of the wise ruler who preaches peace and prepares war. His eyes are turned to the Pacific Ocean, where he firmly believes will be fought the Armageddon that will decide the fate of Europe. Into this realm of prophecy we shall not follow him. It is enough that he has willed a great navy for the German Empire and has set for us a standard that our necessities, if not our will, must adopt.

October 30th.

**Mr. Stead's Open Letter to the Kaiser**  
(In the "Daily Mail")

To his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor.

Sire,—In common with all my countrymen, I have read the report of your interview in the daily Press with profound attention and with the respect which it deserves.

The advocates of an *entente cordiale* with Germany, of whom I am but an insignificant unit, have always maintained that, although there were some military and professorial Chauvinists who cultivated hatred of England, the great mass of the German people shared the fraternal sentiments which undoubtedly animate the great mass of the English people. Burgomasters, members of Parliament, editors, pastors, and trade unionists have exchanged visits during the last two years, and all with one consent have declared that, save a miserable minority, the whole German nation shared these sentiments of friendship with England to which your Majesty has so repeatedly given expression.

Now, to our infinite dismay, so far from this being the case, we are informed by your Majesty that "the prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes" is not "friendly to England." So unfriendly, indeed, is this sentiment, and so large the majority of those who entertain it, that your Majesty finds it "not the easiest task" to oppose the majority of your people.

This, indeed, is an alarming admission.

I sincerely hope that your Majesty is mistaken. But if we dismiss that suggestion as disrespectful, what is the situation that confronts us?

You reveal to us the picture of a nation the majority of which is unfriendly to England, and only restrained from giving practical expression to that prevailing sentiment by the heroic exertions



of your Majesty, who, however, despite all the loyalty of his subjects, cannot summon to his assistance more than "a minority in his own land."

#### "An Unforeseen Accident"

Is it to be wondered at that, although we all cry devoutly, "O Kaiser, live for ever!" we cannot rely upon the certainty that in answer to our prayer your Majesty will be granted the boon of immortality? A motor accident, the stumble of a horse, or any unforeseen accident, may deprive us of our only friend. Where should we be then? Who can adequately insure us against the catastrophe which may cut short your Majesty's invaluable life?

Our only insurance against the unfriendliness of neighbouring nations is the supremacy of our Navy. Your Majesty's astonishing revelation that nothing but the frail span of your own life stands between us and the hostility of a majority of your subjects removes the last vestige of doubt in our minds as to the duty of laying down six Dreadnoughts, and laying them down at once. The more unfriendly the majority of the Germans may be to us, the more incumbent it is upon us to show our fraternal love by leading them not into temptation, but delivering them from evil, by making our Navy so strong that it will not invite their attack.

If your Majesty had designed purposely to destroy the arguments of the opponents of a two-tone shipbuilding programme, you could not have succeeded more completely. I have already shown that if we accept the accuracy of your Majesty's statement the case for the six Dreadnoughts is irresistible. But there are some who, with no fear of *lèse-majesté* before their eyes, will deny that the prevailing sentiment of the majority of the German people is unfriendly to England. Suppose that they are right? What then? Dare we rely upon such friendly national sentiment as a security against the most unfriendly action upon the part of their Government? Of course, so long as your Majesty lives—provided that your patience is not taxed too severely—we should then be quite safe, and might slow down the rate of our shipbuilding.

Would the unanimous friendliness of the German people afford us any guarantee that your successor or yourself, if your patience gave way, would frame Germany policy in accordance with the sentiment of the German people? Your Chancellor and your Foreign Minister assured me last year that public opinion was potent even over the German Government, and that it was absolutely inconceivable that any war could be made by a German Government which did not command the unanimous support of the German people.

#### Any Guarantee?

Alas, alas! Who can believe such assurances in the face of your Majesty's revelation of your secret

participation in the war against the Boers, a race which the whole German nation believed to be unjustly attacked and cruelly wronged? You did not commit the German Empire to war against the Boers. But you did not hesitate to commit your General Staff to such a supreme act of war as the framing of a plan of campaign for the use of your English friends.

In the light of such a fact, what security can we have that some future Kaiser, or your Majesty, *if you should lose your patience*, may not commit an act of war, not only without consulting your people, but with the full knowledge that such an act would be distasteful and abhorrent to them?

We have, therefore, no option but to draw the obvious conclusion from your Majesty's frank revelations of how things stand in Germany. We shall lay down six Dreadnoughts at once—not as a menace or a sign of distrust, but merely as an indispensable act of insurance against dangers to which your Majesty has been so good as to call our attention.—I have the honour to be, your Majesty's obedient servant,

W. T. STEAD.

#### Further Irony of the "Daily Mail"

Fate is unkind to the German Emperor, for she continues to pervert his intentions and to work mischief where he sought to do good. This must be mournful reflection amid the resounding echoes of the controversy raised by the extraordinary interview in which he proclaimed his friendship for Great Britain and the limits of his patience. That France and Russia should resent the resurrection of ancient animosities is natural; that Great Britain should examine with caution and without spontaneous enthusiasm these renewed protestations was to be expected; but that his own people should receive the message of peace, as the German newspapers show, with "anxiety and regret," must convince the Emperor that both the moment and the confession were unfortunate.

Whether by accident or design, the Emperor chose a moment when the Powers of Europe were engaged in difficult and delicate negotiations. France, Russia, and Great Britain had just arrived at an understanding with reference to the Balkans when, behold, the German Emperor, whose Ministers have shown no alacrity in abetting these peaceful endeavours, comes forward to remind us of the attitude of France and Russia during the Boer War. Even if his Majesty's facts were not in dispute, and if it were admitted that France and Russia (and not Germany) proposed the coalition that was to humiliate Great Britain in the eyes of the world, the story could not have been revived at a more critical and unhappy moment. Can the Emperor be surprised if we read his message in the light of present circumstances?

### An Unhappy Confession

Not less unhappy is that article of the confession which relates to the Boer War. Had the Emperor William considered carefully he must have foreseen the effect of his personal intervention in a struggle that did not concern himself or his country. The Boers certainly were not likely to be gratified at discovering among their enemies the Sovereign who not only penned the famous telegram to President Kruger, but strove to wring from us their independence. Nor is England more likely to be pleased at the suggestion that the German Emperor, and not Lord Roberts, was responsible for the plan of campaign. But more serious than these individual and national considerations is the evidence that the Emperor himself has given of the uncertainty of his favour.

It is this uncertainty that poisons the fountain of his kindness, and makes us hesitate to drink from the proffered cup of his Imperial favour. That there is bitterness in the cup he himself acknowledges, for he declares that the mass of his people have no friendship for us. This is a grave confession for a sovereign to make. There are limits not merely to the patience, but to the capacity of one man, even though he be an Emperor and our friend. In reminding us of this, the Emperor William has done us a service, for which we are grateful. It will guide our policy toward that end which sometimes we are tempted to forget—the maintenance of our strength at such a standard as shall show us to be prepared for all emergencies.

### Indignant French Denial

The statement of the Kaiser that he had repelled advances on the part of Russia and France during the Boer War to intervene and "humiliate England to the dust" was indignantly denied by the whole French Press, which declared that the advances were made by Germany, and that France refused to comply with the German conditions.

November 2nd.

Mr. Haldane, Secretary of War, in reply to a question by Mr. W. Redmond, if a plan of campaign for the Boer War, upon which Lord Roberts practically acted, was received from the German Emperor, made the following reply:

"The War Office archives do not contain any such document as the honourable gentleman refers to, nor is there any record of its having come into the possession of anybody connected with the War Office. I am, therefore, unable to comply with the request of the honourable gentleman to lay the document upon the table of the House."

### The Evolution of Germany

The "Daily Mail" devoted a prominent column to a review of "The Evolution of Modern Germany," by Mr. W. H. Dawson.

The warning is given to the British nation that German competition, far from having reached its highest point, "will inevitably increase in severity in the near future."

Germany is an imprisoned Empire (said the reviewer)—pent in by England and by Continental rivals—a boiler without a safety-valve. The force actuating the German Government in its efforts to expand the Navy is, then, no artificial or transient one. It is not because of some insane whim that the Kaiser has proclaimed that "the Trident must pass into our hands," but because Germany must either expand seawards or perish. For this reason all parties are united on the issue of a great navy. . . . Englishmen altogether misinterpret the big navy movement if they underrate its strength and permanency.

Behind it are the deliberate will and calm resolution of a united nation. Behind the Navy party are powerful industrial interests. Even the Socialists, as a party, are by no means hostile to the building up of a strong naval force.

Programme will succeed programme, and will be rigidly carried out.

The gravity of German rivalry is increased by the fact, on which the author lays special emphasis, that the Germany of Stein and Fichte has given way to a new Germany, believing first and foremost in material force.

"Two souls dwell in the German nation," writes Professor Paulsen. "The German nation has been called the nation of poets and thinkers. . . . To-day it may again be called the nation of masterful combatants."

The review continued by pointing out the fever heat of German warlike passions, and the "powerful caste interested in maintaining the multitude in a state of feeling which shall assure its domination at home."

The Socialist peril which, ten years ago, seemed to menace Germany has, in Mr. Dawson's opinion, lost much of its reality. The German Socialists are tied down to "petrified dogmas and programmes divorced from actuality."

The work reveals the real greatness of modern Germany—its spirit of patient preparation, its method and system, and its immense will-power. There is something of the temper of ancient Rome about the German Empire, as Mr. Dawson well remarks, in its "fondness of massiveness, its restless hankering after great effects," and, we may add, in its unflinching pertinacity of purpose.



November

### A Further Crisis

Only a few days after the German Emperor's passionate declaration that he meant nothing but friendship to Great Britain, and presumedly therefore to Great Britain's closest friends, Germany sprung yet another crisis upon Europe.

Out of the original demand of Germany upon France (in the matter of the arrest of certain deserters at Casa Blanca), the German Government in October proposed to France to submit the matter to arbitration at The Hague. The French Government readily accepted the proposal, and it was supposed that the incident had been finally disposed of, when suddenly Germany made the following new demands:

An expression of regret from France.

The surrender of the deserters.

December 10th

### The Air Invasion of England

Councillor Rudolf Martin addressed a small but interested meeting in the Mozart-saal on the German invasion of England, characterising his remarks as a reply to Lord Roberts.

The development of aerial flight had scared everybody in England, for it denoted the complete

modification of the relations of the British Isles with the Continent. Great Britain's power depended upon her position. As soon as she ceased to be an island her world dominion would cease. No longer would the will of London determine international destinies, but the will of Berlin.

The progress already made in aeronautics would suffice to drive the British Fleet from the North Sea. Germany's present airships could cross the Channel several times without stopping for gas or benzene. For a plan of invasion, however, the speaker placed his faith in the Wright aeroplane.

The Wright aeroplane cost £1,000 and carried two persons, therefore for fifty millions sterling they could build 50,000 aeroplanes capable of transporting 100,000 men from Calais to Dover.

*For an Anglo-German war Germany must control the line from Ostend to Calais, Boulogne, and Havre.*

From Calais an air fleet could command London and Sheerness. Zeppelin airships could blockade the mouth of the Thames by dropping mines, and could impose the will of the German people upon England. As Great Britain had the best position for the supremacy of the seas, so Germany occupied the best position for the dominion of the air.

# 1909

February 2nd.

## THE SHADOW OF INVASION

The "Daily Mail" published the first of a series of articles by Colonel Lonsdale Hale, dealing with the danger of invasion, and also a manifesto from Lord Roberts and the vice-presidents of the National Service League, urging the necessity of national service.

Extracts from leading article :

The risks of Britain's position unarmed in the face of a Europe armed to the teeth cannot be too clearly realised by the British public.

Adverting to the shortage in the ranks of the Territorial Army, the article continued :

It is easy to blame the manhood of this country, but is not the real explanation of the reluctance of recruits to come forward to be found in the fact that each is asking himself why he should make sacrifices that others may shirk? Why should A give his holidays to drills and spend his time in camp when B and C are free to watch football matches and enjoy themselves? "Even under the exiguous training that now obtains," writes Lord Roberts, "both the men who engage and their employers are placed at a disadvantage . . . as compared with those who are able to devote the whole of their time to business or pleasure." If the income tax were levied by voluntary assessment, it is safe to assert that its yield would be exceedingly small. The conscientious person would make a just return, and, because he did so, would bear the burden of the unscrupulous and unpatriotic. He would be left with a sense of personal wrong against the defaulters. With national service it is much the same. The burden would be light if all shared it equally.

The duty of our statesmen is clear. It is impossible for them to lay the responsibility upon the nation when they themselves hesitate to give a plain and unambiguous lead. Probably there is not one of them, outside a small section of disarmament fanatics, who does not know that a strong Territorial Army is essential to England's existence. Probably there is not one of them but feels in his heart that the true solution is to be found in compulsory service. But they stand silent, each waiting for the other to speak, and each afraid that the opposite party may snatch some petty advantage from a bold pronouncement. The nation, after all, has the courage and patriotism to follow and obey, if they will but give the call and make the great appeal to it. National service is a democratic measure if it be so applied as to require of all

ranks alike the same sacrifice. In the final scene of "An Englishman's Home" the opportune arrival of a British Army relieves the almost intolerable agony of the situation. In actual life there would be no British Army to arrive. There would be nothing but mere mobs of unarmed young men and helpless young women to confront Prince Yoland's perfectly organised invaders. The play would close with the dishonour of a national catastrophe imposed upon the horror of desolated homes and civilians shot for daring to use arms in England's defence. With the statesmen it rests to speak out and prevent such a national tragedy from being enacted.

March 17th.

## A Great Naval Crisis

A great crisis in the naval policy of the country arose out of the naval estimates and their debates in the House in March and April, 1909. Mr. McKenna (First Lord of the Admiralty) disclosed (March 16th) that Germany had developed her shipbuilding capacity so rapidly that she had falsified our calculations. We did not know, as we thought we did, the rate at which German construction was taking place; we knew the Germans had a naval law which, when all the ships under it were completed, would give them a navy more powerful than any in existence.

The Admiralty, said Mr. McKenna, "must be in a position, *if the necessity arose*, to give orders for guns, gun-mountings, and other materials at such a time as would enable them to obtain delivery of four more armoured ships in the spring of 1912."

Mr. Balfour, in a grave speech, declared that the Government proposals were utterly inadequate. We had not built for two years, while the Germans had not only carried out their paper programme, but they had advanced it by four or five months.

"I have been forced most reluctantly to the conclusion that now, for the very first time in modern history, we are face to face with a naval situation so new, so dangerous, that it is difficult for us to realise all it imports."

The Prime Minister pointed out how Germany had refused absolutely to entertain any proposal for the reduction of naval expenditure.

## Sea Supremacy or Ruin

The "Daily Mail" characterised Mr. McKenna's speech as "one of the most disquieting ever heard by the House of Commons."



*"We can no longer, as in the past, wait to see what our rivals are doing, and then construct ships to beat theirs. The fleets are too nearly equal, the building power of the two countries too closely matched, to permit Fabian tactics. In Mr. Asquith's words, 'we are face to face, not with a party issue, but with a matter which affects the safety of the country.' For England 'there is nothing between sea supremacy and ruin.' Our sea supremacy is in peril."*

In a further series of trenchant articles, the "Daily Mail" returned to the charge throughout March, April, and May. It was successful in arousing the country. The protracted naval debates in the House of Commons assumed historical importance. The Opposition demanded the construction forthwith of eight Dreadnoughts, instead of the four that the Government proposed, together with four "contingent" Dreadnoughts to be laid down in the following April. "We Want Eight" became the insistent battle-cry of the patriotic party, and it was quoted against them by the "Little Navy" party and their Press with every imaginable rancour and bitterness—as though, indeed, the vast German navy was a myth, and concern for the very existence of Great Britain were a dishonour. In the end the great campaign led by the "Daily Mail" was successful, and the four extra Dreadnoughts were gained.

Here are a few extracts from the mass of articles and warnings that the "Daily Mail" published:

March 19th.

#### **A Warning of Mr. Frederic Harrison**

(Reprinted in the "Daily Mail" by permission of "The Times")

"The sole ground for serious anxiety as to our national defences arises from what we see as we watch the feverish expansion of the German navy, combined with the domineering attitude of the German Government in Europe, plus the ambitious schemes asserted now for a whole generation by the German military and naval chiefs, fomenting the natural aspirations of the great German race. When we reflect on the meteoric aggrandisement of Prussia in the last sixty years, on her great military caste, of which Western Europe has no parallel, on the pride and (we may add) the self-consciousness of the German people, coupled with an inborn spirit of patriotism and of discipline, we see before us a nation of magnificent endowments and resources, inspired with a faith in its destiny as a dominant World-Power.

#### **The Consequences of Invasion**

"If it is asked, Why does invasion threaten more terrible consequences to us than it does to our neighbours? the answer is that the British Empire is an anomalous structure, without any real

parallel in modern history, except in the history of Portugal, Venice, and Holland, and in ancient history Athens and Carthage. Our Empire presents special conditions both for attack and for destruction. And its destruction by an enemy seated on the Thames would have consequences so awful to contemplate that it cannot be left to be safeguarded by one sole line of defence, however good, and for the present hour however adequate.

"For more than forty years I have raised my voice against every form of aggression, of Imperial expansion, and Continental militarism. Few men have more earnestly protested against postponing social reforms and the well-being of the people for Imperial conquests and Asiatic and African adventures. I do not go back on a word that I have ever uttered thereon. But how hollow is all talk about industrial reorganisation until we have secured our country against a catastrophe that would involve untold destitution and misery on the people in the mass—which would paralyse industry and raise food to famine prices, while closing our factories and our yards. How idle are fine words about retrenchment, peace, and brotherhood while we lie open to the risk of unutterable ruin, to a deadly fight for natural existence, and to war in its most destructive and most cruel form."

March 23rd.

#### **"New Zealand's Great Example"**

The offer of New Zealand to provide a Dreadnought for the British Navy is one of those splendid acts of affection and patriotism which kindle the imagination and stir the blood. Once more in a moment of stress and crisis New Zealand is setting a great example, as ten years before she did on the eve of the South African war. Then it was the lives of her dearest sons that she freely offered the Motherland. To-day it is ships and money. "The spirit is the same, and for this proof of it the deepest thanks of this nation will go out to its kindred of the Southern Seas. And it is not only New Zealand that is moving. The question of presenting Dreadnoughts to the British Navy is being discussed in the Press of Canada and Australia. Thus fresh proof is given to mankind of that solidarity of the Empire which so astonished the world in 1899. We shall gladly accept all that the Oversea Dominions are prepared to give, and shall feel comfort at the thought that their action proves the unity of the British race.

March 26th.

#### **"Without Debate"**

Amid scenes of enthusiasm the Reichstag this afternoon passed, without a syllable of debate, the Navy Estimates for 1909. It is the first time in

the history of the German Navy that the Estimates have secured the approval of Parliament without discussion.

What a contrast to the disorderly discussions, the light laughter, the trivial amendments, and the party strife of the House of Commons. The German Reichstag met to consider Navy Estimates, the heaviest ever laid before it, involving an increase of £3,600,000 on German expenditure last year. It met to debate a shipbuilding programme providing no less than £10,750,000 for new construction and armaments, a larger sum than any country in the world, including Britain, is spending. It met to face heavy demands on the patriotism and sense of duty of the country. But it did not demand explanations; it did not waste time in talk; it voted the amount cheerfully, "without debate."

The parallel throughout is poignantly close to the attitude of Germany and France on the eve and outbreak of the Franco-German War. In 1867-8 the French Chamber debated the strength of the French Army. While Prussia was silently working, France expended her energy in frivolous talk. Her Radicals prevented the French Emperor from averting attack by adequate armaments. "The desire for comfort, the progress of selfishness, the weakening of discipline rendered painful to all the idea of any sacrifice. To avoid effort, men ended by denying the danger." When the actual trial came, in Paris there was a boastfulness, insane optimism, and wild hysteria. "We are ready to the last gaiter-button," proclaimed Marshal Lebœuf. While Paris was exulting, in Berlin there was silence and confidence—the confidence of a great people which has made every possible preparation, and, as the fruit of its sacrifices and of its long-continued efforts, can contemplate any danger without tumult or dismay.

The German people, whose present maritime ambitions, whether in the direction of oversea trade or of naval strength, would have provoked derision twenty years ago, to-day, despite the cost of their vast army, despite their heavy outlay on experiments in aerial and submarine warfare, can vote "without debate" four Dreadnoughts and colossal sums for armaments. Britain, with practically no army, dependent for food on the bounty of the sea, is unable to provide the barest necessities of national defence. Yet when we say Britain we do our country a profound injustice. It is not the British people who are refusing these sheer needs of their Navy, but rather the Parliament of Britain, which represents but faintly or not at all the voice of her thinkers and workers.

March 29th.

### Thwarting Europe

The two German Powers, with their 110,000,000 of citizens, their 5,000,000 of armed and organised

men; and their twenty Dreadnoughts or Lord Nelsons building or completing, have shown their ability to impose their will upon Europe, and have for the moment thwarted the Triple Entente and have the sheer weight of their armed force.

(Note, the Balkan terms of settlement.)

March 30th.

During the Great Navy Debate, Lord Robert Cecil said: "What does Germany want her Fleet for?"

Can anyone suggest any possible reason for the construction of this gigantic fleet, except that they wish to be in a position to fight this country?

April 16th.

Deeds in this world are far more important than words, and it is the duty of the patriotic British statesman to judge Germany not by her professions, but by her acts, which are menacing enough.

*The real truth has been told by a disinterested but friendly foreign critic, the French review, "L'Opinion": "Without the sacrifice of hundreds of millions or a victorious war, British naval supremacy will have ceased to exist in ten years."*

May 15th.

The methods of German diplomacy are still the methods of Bismarck. Its principle is that the great questions at issue in the world to-day, one of which is the position of England, are to be settled "not by speeches and the votes of majorities, but with iron and with blood." The Power which has not force at its back to defend its rights will, in time, be brushed or roughly pushed aside.

### Lord Rosebery's Grave Words

On June 5th, at the inauguration of the Imperial Press Conference, Lord Rosebery concluded an eloquent oration with an impassioned appeal for greater measures of Imperial Defence.

In memorable and haunting words, Lord Rosebery said: "I do not know that in some ways I have ever seen a condition of things in Europe so remarkable, so peaceful, and in some respects so ominous as the conditions which exist at this moment. There is a hush in Europe, a hush in which you may almost hear a leaf fall to the ground. There is an absolute absence of any question which ordinarily leads to war. All forebode peace, and yet at the same time, combined with this total absence of all questions of conflict, there never was in the history of the world so threatening and overpowering preparation for war. That is a sign which, I confess, I regard as most ominous."

"For forty years it has been a platitude to say that Europe is an armed camp, and for forty years it has been true that all the nations have been facing each



other armed to the teeth, and that has been in some respects the guarantee of peace. Now, without any tangible reason, we see the nations preparing new armaments. They cannot arm any more men on land, so they seek new armaments at sea, piling up these enormous preparations as if for some Armageddon—and yet at a time of profoundest peace. We live in a time of what I think was called 'tacens bellum' (a silent war), in which not a drop of blood is spilt in anger, but in which, however, the last drop is extracted from the body by the lancets of the European statesmen.

"I feel confident in the resolution and power of this country to meet any reasonable conjunction of forces, but when I see the bursting out of navies everywhere and one country alone asking for twenty-five millions of extra taxation for warlike preparations, and the unprecedented sacrifice asked from us on the same ground, I feel uneasy at the outcome of it all and wonder where it will stop, or if it is going to lead back Europe into a state of barbarism.

"We can and we will build Dreadnoughts—or whatever the newest type may be—as long as we have a shilling to spend on them or a man to put into them. All that we can and will do, but I am not sure that even that will be enough, and I think it may be your duty to take back to your young Dominions across the seas this message and this impression: 'That some personal duty and responsibility for National Service rests on every man and citizen. Tell your people—if they can believe it—the deplorable condition into which Europe has descended in militarism, and the pressure which is put upon this little island to defend its liberties—and yours.'"

### A Sombre Picture

Commenting on this speech the "Daily Mail" said: The picture that Lord Rosebery painted in such sombre colours, the menace of European armaments to "this little island," was one that no Englishman, whatever his politics or wherever his home, could contemplate without uneasiness. It has given us to think, and to think seriously.

For the first time in history Britons beyond the seas realise and understand that the menace of the future is no dream of disordered brains—no figment of rival politicians—but a stern and pressing reality.

*An Imperial Navy must have its complement in an Imperial Army*—a force divided of necessity by the seas that are the only division between the Motherland and her children, but united in spirit and in discipline and training. These two are the essentials of national security. The effect of such speeches as Lord Rosebery's, Sir Edward Grey's, Mr. Balfour's, Mr. Haldane's, and Mr. McKenna's must necessarily be cumulative, whether in the British Empire or outside it. They are calculated to

awake even the heaviest slumberer from his torpor. Their reverberation will be felt throughout the world, and all the more certainly because they come at a moment when it is hinted in Germany that a further great increase in her already "boundless" naval preparations is impending. They must produce action. Let us make no mistake. These speeches will be utilised in Germany as a reason for further accelerations and extensions of the German naval programme and armaments.

The hour is, then, not without anxiety for England and her daughter States. They are strong in their consciousness of right, in their feeling of unflinching devotion to common ideals, in their kinship of race and thought. But, as Mr. Balfour said yesterday, "no courage, no self-devotion, not even the consciousness that we have now what our forefathers had not—we have now behind us the patriotism, the courage, and the spirit of the great self-governing members of the Empire—will be adequate unless we ourselves are prepared." We must prepare with resolute determination to sacrifice every secondary issue to the claims of national defence."

November 27th.

### Arming in Silence

The launch of the German Dreadnought *Thuingen* follows immediately on the production of the heaviest naval estimates in German history. The two events afford fresh proof, if any were required, of the energy and persistence with which the German people are creating a gigantic Navy.

*The most significant feature of their preparations is the complete silence in which they are being conducted. No protests against the vast expenditure on new Dreadnoughts and submarines are heard in the German Press. No resistance is offered in the Reichstag. In the words of our Berlin correspondent, "the country is prepared and resigned to bear the burden"; Germany is arming in silence.*

1909.

### Mr. Blatchford's Great Warning—Germany and England

In December, 1909, the "Daily Mail" published the famous series of articles in which Mr. Robert Blatchford, best-known leader of the English Socialists and editor of the "Clarion," warned the people of England of the tremendous menace of Germany.

"I write these articles," said Mr. Blatchford (in the first of the series), "because I believe that Germany is deliberately preparing to destroy the British Empire, and because I know that we are not ready to defend ourselves against a sudden and formidable attack.

"I write from a sense of duty, and from a conviction that the destruction of the British Empire would be a misfortune for Europe and a blow to civilisation throughout the world."

Mr. Blatchford gave a masterly analysis of the German motives for attacking Great Britain, produced a mass of evidences of German hostility, showed the futility of offering Germany either conciliation or compromise, and called for "The Man" among English politicians who should step forward to show his country the only way to salvation. He showed us the task and the cost of the only adequate national defence, and, in a memorable chapter, pointed out that "soldiering or slavery" were our alternative.

Mr. Blatchford's articles created great sensation when published in the "Daily Mail." The verification of their prophecies of the plot of Germany has now made them historic documents. They have been reprinted separately from this book, and are vastly sold as a penny pamphlet.

### **The Anger of the German Press at Mr. Blatchford's Exposure of German Designs**

The "Kreuz Zeitung," principal Conservative organ: "Mr. Blatchford's articles only deserve notice as a symptom of the ill-will of certain English circles toward Germany, and as a warning not to place too much confidence in the change of English opinion toward Germany which we were recently gratified to observe. Mr. Blatchford is a nobody. His stylistic outpourings would amount to nothing if they did not appear in the 'Daily Mail.' They become important political documents the moment a great political party identifies itself with them.

"There is a strong suspicion that the articles were ordered by the Unionist Party from a Socialist so as to counteract the effect of the Liberalist fusion. Germanophobia and preparations for war against Germany thereby become an essential part of the programme with which the Unionists hope to attain power, and which must be carried out if they win."

The semi-official "Cologne Gazette": "The 'Daily Mail' has placed its columns at the disposal of Mr. Blatchford in order to cause an uproar the eve of the election. If the Germans ask what the talk about the plans of the German war party means, the answer is that it belongs to the election campaign. Mr. Blatchford's main purpose is to advocate universal military service. In the presence of the deeply disaffected spirit prevailing among the officers of the English Army over Mr. Haldane's Territorial scheme it is altogether possible that the articles will exercise a main influence."

The "Taegliche Rundschau" (Conservative):

"Mr. Blatchford, the ex-brushmaker, continues to make himself ridiculous in a dangerous way. Together with the announcement of his articles, the 'Daily Mail,' in order to get more advertisement for itself and for its social-military fatherland-saviour, publishes a lengthy interview with him and a description of his worthy person."

The "Berliner Mittag Zeitung": "Mr. Blatchford is proceeding with his silly 'revelations' over the terrible danger confronting England with the aid of the stalest Pan-German fairy tales."

### **"Maniacal Phantasies"**

The "Berliner Tageblatt": "The first of Mr. Blatchford's articles is exactly as maniacal as the phantasies of a Simon Pure or a political dilettante. The article is convincing evidence that ignorance is the mother of cheek. What Mr. Blatchford says about the plans of present-day Germans is so incredibly nonsensical that one must doubt his thinking capacity, and feel indignation with the 'Daily Mail' for deliberately opening its columns to such idiotic mischief-making."

The "Neue Hamburger Zeitung": "Mr. Blatchford's article is nonsense. It is reckless German baiting, which reveals the great self-over-estimation of the writer."

Mr. Blatchford's articles became the chief subject of talk in Berlin social and military circles. Not only the metropolitan Press of Berlin, but the great provincial dailies throughout the Empire, reproduced and discussed the articles. "In a long experience of observing the German newspapers," said the "Daily Mail" Berlin correspondent, "I do not recall a foreign journalistic event which has so focussed the attention of the German Press and public, with the single exception of the Kaiser interview in the 'Daily Telegraph.'"

This correspondent proceeded with the significant comment that the "Vorwaerts," the official organ of German Socialism, disavowed Mr. Blatchford as fully as other German papers. "German Social Democrats," he remarked, "when all is said and done, are genuine patriots. The only explanation of their official organ's abuse of Mr. Blatchford is that his exposure of the German war party's ambitions is unpalatable."

The Vorwaerts: "Mr. Blatchford, the editor of the 'Clarion,' is publishing in the 'Daily Mail' a sort of story of his trip through Germany, in which all kinds of fantastic tales of Germany's world-conquest plans are related. The articles must arouse the impression that the author has suffered acute disturbance of the brain by plodding through reams of Pan-German twaddle. It can only be that the 'Daily Mail' opens its columns to such nonsense because Mr. Blatchford's advocacy of stronger naval and military armaments naturally helps the Conservatives' election demagoguery."



### "A Chauvinist Chatterbox"

The "Volks Zeitung" of Cologne, chief organ of the powerful Catholic Party:

"A certain Blatchford, whom German newspapers recently took more seriously than he deserved, asks in the 'Daily Mail,' 'What about Germany?' What kind of autocratic regime does the man think exists in Germany? Blatchford is a Chauvinist chatterbox."

The "Taegliche Rundschau" (the most implacable Pan-German organ in Berlin) spoke of Mr. Blatchford's articles as "The Blatchford swindle."

"We shall not try the patience of our readers," said the "Rundschau," in a sentence of characteristic German pithiness, "with further extracts from Blatchford's effusions, unless he makes some new record in the realm of nonsense and deranged judgment, and thereby furnishes documentary evidence, not only of the state of mind of the former brushmaker, but also, and that would be more important, of the mental condition of the English reading public to which one dares to offer such stuff."

On the conclusion of Mr. Blatchford's memorable series of articles, the "Daily Mail" printed a leading article which, in view of its significant forecasts, is here reprinted in full:

December 23rd.

### THE WARNING

We publish to-day the last of a series of articles by Mr. Robert Blatchford, dealing with the most vital question of our time—the relations of England and Germany. Mr. Blatchford is the master of a terse and trenchant style which could scarcely be bettered for the purpose of popular exposition, and he is amply equipped with special knowledge. On behalf of the "Daily Mail," he accompanied the German Army in its manœuvres of last autumn, and he is familiar with our Army and our Fleet. His letters and telegrams during the German manœuvres will be fresh in the minds of all. There was in them nothing but admiration for Germany and the Germans. He praised warmly German discipline and German organisation. What he saw and heard in Germany made a deep impression on his mind. Some weeks after his return to England, after reflecting on the facts, he found that he had a warning to convey to his countrymen which his conscience and sense of duty would not permit him to suppress. Believing this country to be in danger—and in grave danger—he wrote these articles with a sincerity and conviction that must go home to all. He wrote them, alarmed at the contrast between the indifference, disorganisation, and lack of

preparation in this country, and the energy, organisation, and disciplined effort that characterise Germany. He offered them spontaneously to the "Daily Mail," knowing that through our columns they would make a wide and deep appeal. In our judgment he has rendered a great public service by his action, which has been taken with a fine courage and a total disregard of self.

### Full Responsibility

After the most careful consideration we decided to publish these articles, accepting for them the fullest responsibility. We undertook that responsibility as a public duty. *Our desire is to avert war. A great conflict can be prevented if people in this country will realise the true position before it is too late. Peace can be preserved if the nation is prepared to take the necessary measures and to make the necessary sacrifices in time. It can be preserved in no other way,* and it was to drive this fact into the public mind that Mr. Blatchford wrote these articles. Nothing that has appeared in the "Daily Mail" in recent years has attracted more attention, has aroused more discussion, or has been followed by our readers with closer interest. And at almost every Radical meeting his articles have been denounced in unmeasured terms, though they simply stated facts. It has been said that they have been published to influence the elections. Now, it is quite true that they ought to influence the elections, and to be in the mind of every elector when he gives his vote next month. But the fact that they are likely to influence the popular decision at the polls can only point to a neglect by Ministers of national defence. Ministers would have nothing to fear if they had not reduced the British Navy and replied to Germany's immense naval preparations with half-measures or something worse. They would have nothing to fear if they had taken steps to provide that military force which, as Mr. Blatchford has shown, is required to preserve France from attack. "The problem of British defence," he has truly said, "is the defence of France." The strongest navy conceivable cannot defend her or aid her if she is assailed. And if she is defeated, "the downfall of France is the downfall of the British Empire." What steps are we taking to give her the aid that at any moment she may need? None. Half a million, perhaps even 300,000 British troops, would turn the scale. We have not got them; we cannot have them without universal service.

### Germany's Sacrifices

Never have these vital truths been pressed with such vigour and directness. There is not

a man in this country but knows in his heart that they are true. And because the English people are neglecting, not only the menace at sea, but also this menace on land, they are incurring grave peril. We need use no hard words of Germany. Her rulers and her people have set themselves down with infinite labour and enormous sacrifices to fulfil their destiny. If we shrink from counter-preparations, war is a matter, at the most, of a few years; and we can only prevent war by displaying corresponding energy and patriotism, and making similar sacrifices. We know the goal of German aims.

*"The trident must be in our fist," the Kaiser has said. The German Navy Act of 1900 avows the fixed policy of constructing a German fleet "of such strength that, even for the greatest naval power, a war with Germany would involve risks so grave as to imperil its own supremacy." That policy is being remorselessly pursued, without haste, without rest. "Germany's future lies upon the waters." There, again, in the Kaiser's words is the secret of antagonism—an antagonism as inevitable as the processes of Nature—which only commanding strength on our part can hold in check. Weakness will merely invite and precipitate a catastrophe. In Mr. Blatchford's words—words which surely should ring like a trumpet-call in the heart of even the most heedless and indifferent—"Empire is in danger; and*

*we are unready." He has warned his countrymen. With them it now rests calmly and bravely to face the peril as it should be faced—by instant action, by deeds, not by talk.*

### The German "No"

Almost immediately after the publication of Mr. Blatchford's warnings, Germany's determination not to enter into a naval understanding with Great Britain was once more formally reaffirmed through a semi-official communication to the "Cologne Gazette." It was called forth by a statement circulated by a Berlin news agency, and given in certain London newspapers (not in the "Daily Mail"), that "an Anglo-German naval understanding was already in existence," and that "the development of the German Fleet according to the existing naval law is not to be carried out."

The "Cologne Gazette's" reply was as follows:

"It is not clear on what the news agency bases its contention that an Anglo-German naval understanding has been arrived at. There is certainly a desire to bring about better relations with England, but up to the present hour it has not led to an understanding on the so-called naval question.

"It is entirely incorrect that Germany intends to depart from her naval programme as laid down by law."



# 1910

January 1st.

## THE NEW YEAR

Never was there an hour when it was more necessary to be up and doing for England's sake. The competition between the nations grows ever fiercer. Our industrial and naval supremacy are being challenged as never before in our history. New perils have arisen. Only last year we drew attention on this very day to the grave problem presented by the rapid rise of German sea-power in the north of Europe. We reminded Englishmen that they must exert themselves to the utmost if the heritage of Nelson was not to slip from their grasp. Yet, have the good resolutions of last January been kept? Nothing has passed except twelve precious months, in which this country has made no determined effort to recover its position.

### The Danger of Optimism

In Lord Curzon's words, we have an Empire to keep safe. We have a race to keep pure. We have a character to maintain. If we are to achieve these aims we must show unexampled energy and unmatched capacity for strenuous action and self-sacrifice. *Fine words will avail us nothing. There must be deeds. And the deeds must be done without delay. We cannot believe that the British race which bravely confronted and overcame perils as great in the past has lost its old vigour and tenacity. Its real danger lies in its very optimism and confidence. But there is not a moment to lose. We must work if the Empire is to be preserved—work as we have never worked before—and prepare for colossal sacrifices. No time of "sheltered fatness and ease" lies before us in this New Year.*

Throughout January and February this warning was followed up by a further series of naval articles.

January 5th.

### To-day—and To-morrow

Ministers have, as Mr. Blatchford has pointed out, to meet not only the German Fleet of to-day, but also the vastly increased and strengthened German Fleet of to-morrow. Sir Edward Grey has admitted that the entire British Fleet will have to be reconstructed. Are the Government reconstructing it? The answer is that they are not. They are barely marking time as against Germany. They are spending this year on new ships less than Germany. Protestations and promises we have had in abundance from them in the past. But to-day the nation wants not words, but action. Its naval power is slowly but surely slipping from its grasp. Vast

expenditure is needed if the "unassailable superiority of the British Navy" is to be maintained. But Ministers continue obstinately upon their course of sacrificing sea-power to Socialism. They must be pressed on these matters more vigorously than ever. They must give unmistakable pledges, and if they do not, then only one conclusion is possible. In the words of the "National Review," the country will have to decide "whether we are to vote down British security, to vote up German triumph in trade and arms."

January 7th.

### At Our Very Doors

A vast navy is growing up at our very doors, across the North Sea. Programme has succeeded programme in Germany, each increasing the number of the Kaiser's Dreadnoughts and destroyers. Threats have even been made by Germans, as Mr. Balfour reminded the nation at Hanley, that the adoption of Tariff Reform by this country will not be permitted. Simultaneously, warnings of imminent danger are reaching us from neutral States. It is impossible to exaggerate the gravity and significance of Mr. Balfour's words:

*"Consult the statesmen and diplomatists of the lesser Powers, and I am perfectly confident that you will find among them an absolute unanimity of opinion that a struggle sooner or later between this country and Germany is inevitable."*

The same warnings reached France on the eve of 1870—from Queen Sophia of Holland, from the King of Italy, and from the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt. They were disregarded and ridiculed. The world knows the result.

Concluding an indictment of the Liberal Ministry for procrastinatory and dilatory naval policy, the article concluded:

*A weak Navy means war. And it means more—it means unsuccessful war.*

January 10th.

Our friends on the Continent are full of anxiety and fear. The French "Temps" warns us to arm if we would not have war forced upon Europe. German intentions are indicated by Herr Harden's threats: "If you will not become the accomplices of Germany in the partition of the Continent," he says to the British people, "Germany will mobilise her forces against you; and it is at your expense,

at the price of a long and cruel war, that she will aggrandise herself. You can choose."

January 12th.

### Your Fate In Your Hands

The people of England must take thought for the morrow—must make sacrifices for the morrow, and they must do so now. "No nation," Mr. Austen Chamberlain has said, "which is not willing to make sacrifices for its national strength and its national life is worthy of living, or will continue to hold a front rank among the peoples of the world." Are the people of England ready to answer in the right way? We believe that they are. They have responded before in a noble manner to the call of duty. Duty calls them to-day. The weakness lies not with the masses, but with leaders who have been unfaithful to their trust. Decay never begins in the humbler ranks of a race. It shows itself first at the top—in blindness to the real issues, in illusions, in wild theories held in defiance of fact, in weakness of will, and in that fatal irresolution which in the hour of action palsies the statesman's hands and brings destruction on his State.

It is time the British people aroused themselves. The hours are ebbing fast away. British voters have to show that they are worthy of the freedom which they have inherited, and jealous of the great name and heroic traditions of their country. Yet there is, as we have said, every reason for confidence and hope. We have a just cause in which we profoundly believe. It is the cause of every British man, woman, and child. It is to save their work and wages that we are fighting, with infinite compassion for those who are being so cruelly deluded into forsaking the national cause. It is to save them from themselves and from the consequences of any act of blindness that we must redouble all our efforts. We have the faith which can overcome all things. We know that we are in the right.

Everything that can appeal to a man is at stake—the preservation of the Empire, the unity of the country in which we live, the liberty of its people, its immemorial institutions, its independence and existence as a State. Where the odds are against us, work, hard and incessant, may yet change the fortune of the day. No means of action should be neglected. The man who is a laggard now is untrue to his country. And through our hearts should

run the passionate resolve with which, in a crisis not less tremendous than is upon us now, one of the grandest of English poets declared that never the stream of British freedom and greatness

"In bogs and sands

Should perish, and to evil and to good

Be lost for ever."

England's Fleet is in her people's hands. And in her Fleet her Fate.

January 13th.

### The General Election—An Impassioned Appeal

Extracts from letter sent to "The Times" by Sir Henry Brackenbury, and reprinted in the "Daily Mail":

*"I am convinced that there is an irresistible force driving Germany on, and which will continue to drive her on, till England has to accept one of two alternatives—humiliation or war.*

*"We are not likely to strike at Germany, and nothing is more certain than that Germany will choose her own time for using her battle fleet and her army. How she will begin, where she will begin, we know not. Only one thing we may be sure of—there will be no warning. The days of 'declaration of war' before hostilities are dead and buried. And when, in one way or other, a pistol is pointed at our head, we must either give in or fight.*

*"Soldier though I am, I am, first of all, for an all-powerful Navy. But I cannot bring myself to believe that we are justified in trusting only to our Navy. . . . If our Navy be defeated or so crippled that it cannot keep the sea clear, we may have to deal with invasion by the finest army in Europe. I do not doubt the spirit that actuates the officers and men of the Territorial Army, but I say, with Lord Roberts and Colonel Lonsdale Hale, that it is, through no fault of its own, utterly unfit for the part that would be imposed upon it, and I hold that it would be little short of murder to put those untrained men and uneducated, inexperienced officers into the field against the skilled army of Germany.*

*"I know there are many Gallios who care for none of these things. I know that the attitude of many—even leading statesmen—is that which Sydney Smith put into the mouth of Peter Plymley nearly a century ago: 'You cannot imagine, you say, that England will ever be invaded and conquered, and for no earthly reason that I can see than because it is so very odd that she should ever be invaded and con-*



quered.' - *But, sir, I was present in France throughout the war of 1870-71; I saw what it means for a country to be invaded even by so humane and well disciplined an army as that of Germany, and when I think of those ruined homes, those widows and orphans, those hundreds of thousands of wretched prisoners, that mass of human suffering, I cannot but raise my feeble voice and implore my countrymen to take steps in time to avoid such misery, such bitter humiliation as I then saw—misery and humiliation which far outweigh even two hundred million sterling which had to be paid by France, and which, in our case, would infinitely outweigh the thousand millions indemnity which would have to be paid by defeated England, in addition to the loss of Fleet and Colonies.*"

### The "World Power"

On February 16th the "Daily Mail" reported an appeal for a powerful navy, delivered in Munich, by Grand-Admiral von Koester, President of the Navy League. The special significance of the speech was that it was designed to revive the flagging South German enthusiasm for the Fleet.

The Admiral, after alleging that the full carrying out of the naval programme was required to protect Germany against nations which viewed her economic success with jealous eyes, proceeded to review the world trade of Germany, which had more than doubled in twenty years, and contended that it could only flourish by honourable continuance of the burden of armaments by land and sea.

"It is said," he urged, "that Germany cannot bear the burden of double armaments by land and sea. The steady increase of our population compels us to set ourselves new goals, and to grow from a Continental into a World Power."

The readiness of Germany to expand her fleet, regardless of expense, was once more illustrated when, a few days afterwards, the Budget Committee of the Reichstag passed without debate the Admiralty estimates for the current year.

### England's Leeway

On March 9th the "Daily Mail" returned to the subject of air power (relevant to Mr. Haldane's announcement that a new corps was to be formed in the British Army devoted solely to aeronautics) and, while reviewing the present development of British aircraft, concluded:

It should never be forgotten that England has much leeway to make up before she can hope to hold her own in the air. Whereas Germany has nine large airships of extended radius actually in service, and another six or eight in progress, England has not one ready

capable of long flights. We, who led the world in the introduction of the railway and the steamship, are following others. This is not a satisfactory position.

March 17th.

### The Future of Naval War and Its Moral

In this ceaseless advance of the mechanical, man remains the same. His nerves do not become harder. The strain upon them grows. Already it is exhausting in peace, and, save for exceptional natures, overwhelming in time of war. "Gun-shyness" is a malady not unknown when nothing more dangerous is proceeding than target practice. What the conditions of action are like we can see from the narratives of Russian officers in the defeated fleet at Tsushima. Amid the thunder of the firing, the concussion of the bursting shells, the intense heat and smoke, men were almost paralysed by something more terrible than fear. Yet the ordeal through which they passed was much lighter than that of the future battle. There was no engine of destruction afloat in the Japanese fleet to compare with the Dreadnought. The French experiments on the hull of the *Iena* have shown how fearful are the effects of the latest projectiles fired from the modern heavy guns. Armoured casements struck by the big 12-in. shell remained red-hot for an hour after the shot. All within them must have perished had there been human beings stationed inside. The concussion of the explosions shattered the communications within the ship, even when these were remote from the part hit. Telephones and electric-power cables broke down. It is even said that animals confined below went mad from fear.

It is true that if one side in the naval battle of to-morrow rapidly obtains the upper hand it will only suffer in a very minor degree. As Admiral Bacon remarked yesterday, the moral of the winner will improve if he hits and his enemy misses. Again the narratives of Russian officers illustrate this point. They tell us how their spirits sank when they looked from the smoking wrecks in which they stood, battered and shattered by the continual impact of the Japanese shells, at the long line of Japanese warships manœuvring in perfect order, intact, with never a fire on board, showing no trace of harm, but vomiting death and destruction. *And it is in order that our seamen may be certain to obtain and keep the upper hand should war unhappily come that we plead for an overwhelming British Fleet. It is only charitable to suppose that the opponents of a strong British Fleet are ignorant of the real horror of modern war. For did they understand that a weak British Fleet, if it wins at all, can only win at the cost of fearful sacrifices of British life, they would surely abate the clamour. With a strong British Fleet not only is victory rendered reasonably certain*

*If war should come, but also the coming of war prevented. No one will attack when the odds against him are two to one, for, as Clausewitz, the great master of war, wrote eighty years ago, that spells certain defeat.*

April 6th.

#### **German Naval League—Record of Its Vast Annual Activities**

The annual report of the German Navy League for the past year is given prominence in the "North German Gazette."

The League at the end of 1909 numbered the proud and unprecedented total of 1,031,339 members, a gain of 24,000 during the year, while the cash in hand amounted to £16,750. "Die Flotte," the official organ of the League, has a rapid circulation of 345,000, *which is considerably larger than that enjoyed by any daily newspaper in Germany.* During the year the League conducted a great excursion of 300 school teachers, recruited from the interior of the country, to the sea coast, sending them home enthusiastic believers in Germany's future upon the waters.

March 17th.

#### **The Power of the Flying Machine**

The "Daily Mail" published an interview with Admiral of the Fleet Sir Edward Seymour. Commenting on the views of the admiral, it remarked:

The flying machine, indeed, offers almost unique facilities for the observation of an enemy. It can be utilised in a wind when the dirigible would be almost helpless. It offers an insignificant target. It moves with such speed that no gun or rifle at present designed could be trusted to hit it. Only a lucky shot could put it out of action. The special motor artillery which is being tested in Germany for work against dirigibles would be quite unable to follow it. It is relatively inexpensive. All these features mark it out as a military engine indispensable to the well-equipped army and navy. Yet, at the same time, Sir Edward does not underrate the dirigible airship. He believes that a fleet of such airships as Germany now possesses "might in an afternoon work an enemy infinite harm." *It could not attack ships at sea, but it could shower explosives on dock-yards.* This is a danger from which only a strong British squadron of airships can guard us. But the odds are at present heavily against Britain. To twenty-four dirigibles, built or building, in Germany we can oppose only six, two of which are still in foreign hands and only one of which is ready for service.

We need, then, to "wake up." Nor can we afford to neglect the Navy in our efforts to gain a satisfactory position in the air. To those

who ask why England needs a two-keels-to-one standard, Sir Edward's remarks on the risk of surprise supply an effective answer. He points out that an unexpected attack "is now a constant nightmare," and *that war may come with little or no notice. Both the great struggles of modern times opened almost without warning. In 1870 France reduced her army, and the British Foreign Secretary pronounced the diplomatic sky clear on the very eve of the conflict with Germany. And in 1904 the Japanese blow fell at Port Arthur before the Russian Admiralty could concentrate its fleet. The true way to prevent war is always to be ready for it in overwhelming strength.*

May 27th.

#### **A Frank German Opinion**

The "Deutsche Zeitung" (pan-German): "We regard the constant emphasising of our love of peace to the French as the most improper of practical politics. Such outbursts of Imperial knightliness, moreover, embarrass our official policy. He is the most perfidious enemy of the German nation and Empire who now tries to persuade the Emperor that he must, after the death of King Edward, take over the rôle of the European peacemaker."

July 4th.

#### **BRITAIN AND THE GERMAN NAVY**

Extracts from an important article by Admiral A. T. Mahan, U.S.N.:

"The huge development of the German Navy within the past decade, and the assurance that the present rate of expenditure—over £20,000,000 annually—will be maintained for several years to come, is a matter of general international importance. Elsewhere, and in another connection, I have had occasion to point out, in the American Press, that the question immediately raised is not what Germany means to do with this force, which already is second only to that of Great Britain, and for which is contemplated a further large expansion. The real subject for the reflection of every person, statesman or private, patriotically interested in his country's future is the simple existence present, and still more prospective, of a new international factor, to be reckoned with in all calculations where oppositions of national interests may arise.

"From this point of view it is not particularly interesting to inquire whether Germany has any far-reaching purposes of invading Great Britain or of dismembering her Empire.

"The people of Great Britain should not depend upon apprehension of Germany's intentions to attack in order to appraise their naval necessities and awaken their determination. Resolutions based



upon such artificial stimulus are much like the excitement of drink, liable to excess in demonstration, as well as to misdirection and ultimate collapse in energy, as momentary panic is succeeded by reaction. Unemotional, business-like recognition of facts, in their due proportions, benefits national policies, to be followed by well-weighted measures corresponding to the exigency of the discernible future.

#### Face to Face

" . . . This is the fundamental condition which the British democracy of to-day has to recognise as regards their national security, upon which their economic future—their food, clothing, and housing—depends; that they stand face to face with a nation one-fourth more numerous than themselves, and one more highly organised for the sustainment by force of a Government more efficient in the ordering of national life, in that it can be, and is, more consecutive in purpose, than one balanced unsteadily upon the shoulders of a shifting popular majority.

. . . What reason is there in the nature of things that the British democracy should not maintain an army proportionally as great as that of Germany? None, except that the British democracy will not. The national wealth is vastly greater; but notwithstanding this, which indicates not only a certain greater power but a much greater stake, the national will so to prepare does not exist. Many distinguished Englishmen advocate measures tending to this result—to the nation in arms; but I doubt if anyone outside of Great Britain expects to see it.

. . . It is entirely true that for the moment the naval concentration at home, coupled with the tremendous positional advantage of Great Britain over German trade routes, constitutes a great measure of security; and further, that the British waters, occupied as they now are, do effectually interpose between Germany and the British overseas Dominions. *The menacing feature in the future is the apparent indisposition and slackness of the new voters of the last half-century, over against the resolute spirit and tremendous faculty for organising strength in Germany.*"

July 6th.

#### Once More The Question

*Once more we put to our countrymen the great question of Torrington: "Will they be afraid now while the danger may be remedied, or be afraid here after when it is past remedy and effort comes too late?" On their answer to that question hang the fate and future of the United Kingdom and the Empire.*

July 7th.

#### The Call for a Naval Loan

Behind the British Navy is an Army which hardly counts in the modern European scale. Behind the

German Navy and its allies are armed and organised nations who reckon their land forces by the million. It follows that if the German Navy were defeated and totally destroyed to-morrow Germany would still be secure against invasion. But if her fleet defeated the British, then the United Kingdom would lie open to attack at its very heart. The fall of the Empire must inexorably follow, amid scenes of misery and starvation never equalled in human history. Where the stakes are so uneven foresight urges us to make our naval position secure and to shrink from no sacrifice.

The man who opposes in time of peace suitable preparations for war is as unpatriotic and detrimental to the nation as he who shirks his duty or deserts his post in battle. And we might go beyond this. The Englishman who, in the face of such warnings from Admiral Mahan and Sir Edward Grey, does not use all his personal efforts to strengthen the fleet and to persuade the Government to take the measures required, has failed both in patriotism and in duty. If a practical result at which to aim is required, it lies in a loan to re-establish beyond question Britain's naval supremacy, to supplement the Navy Estimates, to provide the North Sea bases which our fleets must have, and to give the nation that security which past parsimony has imperilled. If the British people cannot concentrate its attention on this demand, let it not marvel at the folly of the Byzantines, who fought among themselves as to the sex of angels what time the Turks were storming their walls.

July 13th.

#### Friends of Every Country but Their Own

In the light of Admiral Mahan's solemn warning, which should have filled even the most careless with anxiety for the future of England and her sea power, it might be supposed that all sections of opinion would combine in demanding from the Government measures inadequate to meet the naval danger. Tragically different is the actual situation. To-day the Little Navy Party, with an ignorance and self-sufficiency that would inspire only ridicule were not the possible consequences of their folly so menacing to our country, meet to consider and arrange a raid upon the shipbuilding vote which comes before the House of Commons to-morrow. Mr. W. P. Byles would cut it down by five millions.

We do not know what special knowledge of naval affairs this gentleman possesses that he ventures to set up his opinion in opposition to those of Admiral Mahan and the Admiralty experts. But to bring home to the nation the enormity of the mischief proposed, we have only to point out that even if two millions were subtracted from the shipbuilding vote not one single new British warship could be laid down this year. The British Fleet in

the near future would be placed by such action in a position of such weakness that either a disastrous war or an ignominious surrender could be forced upon our country by its rivals. Is it the wish of the Little Navy party that Britain should become, in Sir Edward Grey's grave words, "the conscript appendage of some stronger Power"? Yet if this is not their wish, their action can only be described as inconsequent or insane. They must know that the strength of the Navy in the future depends upon what is spent on building ships to-day. If foreign Powers continue to lay down new Dreadnoughts and destroyers, while Britain builds none, inexorably the hour must come when the British Fleet will be outmatched.

These sentimentalist are the worst foes of their country. Their appearance is the "sign of dry-rot in a nation which, because it once was militant, has become rich and great." They are directly responsible for the very existence of the evil which they profess to deplore. *The House of Commons and the nation should never forget that they induced the British Government to relax its efforts in 1907 and 1908.* What was the consequence? That Germany instantly increased her programme and her naval expenditure. The pacifist specific has thus been tried, and has miserably failed. After this bitter lesson, to try it once more, when the balance of naval power is so precariously adjusted as at the present moment, would be national suicide.

July 15th.

### THE SUICIDE CLUB

The debate on the shipbuilding vote in the House of Commons was marked by the usual exhibition from the Little Navy party. They lamented with sobs and tears the wickedness of Britain in taking steps to protect herself against armed attack. If they would convert the world to their ideas, the proper course would be for them to start by converting Germany. After all, even they must know that thrice within the last five years Germany has threatened war in Europe. The first occasion was in 1905, when the famous Delcassé incident occurred. The second occasion was in 1908, at Casa Blanca. The third was only last year, when the German Government sent its ultimatum to Russia. "War was averted" in each case, but only because the Power threatened gave way; and Admiral Mahan has already pointed out that such surrenders are the equivalent of defeat in battle. . . .

"Of all advisers, the sentimentalist are the most dangerous," said the late Lord Carnarvon, "because they ignore human nature and the laws of the universe. They imagine that wars may be eliminated by talk before international courts, that precautions may be safely neglected in the face of the lessons of history, and that weakness is itself a virtue."

The German programme continues to advance without rest. Across the North Sea a great fleet is being erected with feverish energy, and at the same time docks, fortifications, and harbours in strategic positions are being provided on the most colossal scale. Whereas British expenditure on the Navy is actually less in the present year than in 1904, German expenditure has much more than doubled. The Little Navy party beg the Government to rely on a German assurance, which Sir Edward Grey expressly stated not to be binding, that only thirteen German Dreadnoughts would be completed in early 1912. That is their second card. Yet thinking men who have studied history know that diplomatic assurances are frequently misleading. Did not the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires tell the French Ambassador at Berlin, in 1870, that the Prussian Government know nothing of the Hohenzollern candidature, and, further, give his "word of honour"? Yet the Prussian Government did know, and had arranged the whole affair to provoke France to war. The safety of the British Empire can never be staked on such assurances. Our one guarantee of peace and of national independence is the strong arm of our Fleet.

The sooner the pacifists recognise that nothing is gained and infinite mischief is caused by these annual attempts to weaken the British Navy, the better it will be for the cause of peace. The whimpering entreaties to Germany to cease building Dreadnoughts are unworthy of men, and cover England with ridicule in the eyes of the world. Germany has a perfect right to construct as many Dreadnoughts as she likes, but the British people should show their resolute determination to lay down two for each one that she begins. It is to no era of settled peace that Europe is marching. "The rivalries and enmities of European States have become more intense than ever before," says a perfectly dispassionate American observer. "They will not be dissolved by kind words and noble sentiments." *While we yet have time let us prepare to meet the peril, remembering that any weakening of the British Navy brings nearer the spectre of war and the horrors of defeat. Let us go forward like men to fulfil our destiny.*

*Note.—In response to innumerable requests the "Daily Mail" reprinted Admiral Mahan's warning in pamphlet form.*

This was the Division List of the Little Navy party:

Abraham, William (Dublin Harbour)  
 Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)  
 Barnes, G. N.  
 Boland, John Pius  
 Bowerman, C. W.  
 Brady, P. J.  
 Brunner, J. F. L.  
 Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas



Byles, William Pollard  
 Cameron, Robert  
 Channing, Sir Francis Allston  
 Clough, William  
 Clynes, J. R.  
 Condon, Thomas Joseph  
 Cullinan, J.  
 Dillon, John  
 Doris, W.  
 Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward  
 Fenwick, Charles  
 Flavin, Michael Joseph  
 Glanville, H. J.  
 Glover, Thomas  
 Gwynn, Stephen Lucius (Galway)  
 Hackett, J.  
 Hancock, J. G.  
 Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)  
 Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)  
 Harvey, T. E. (Leeds, W.)  
 Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N.E.)  
 Hazelton, Richard  
 Hodge, John  
 Hogan, Michael  
 Holt, Richard Durning  
 Hudson, Walter  
 Jowett, F. W.  
 Joyce, Michael  
 Keating, M.  
 Kelly, Edward  
 Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)  
 Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas  
 Luttrell, Hugh Fownes  
 Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)  
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah  
 McCallum, John M.  
 Meagher, Michael  
 Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)  
 Molloy, M.  
 Mooney, J. J.  
 Nolan, Joseph  
 O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)  
 O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)  
 O'Dowd, John  
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)  
 O'Malley, William  
 Parker, James (Halifax)  
 Pointer, Joseph  
 Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H.  
 Power, Patrick Joseph  
 Reddy, Michael  
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)  
 Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)  
 Rowntree, Arnold  
 Scanlan, Thomas  
 Scott, A. H. (Ashton-under-Lyne)  
 Scddon, J.  
 Shackleton, David James  
 Snowdon, P.

Twist, Henry  
 Walsh, Stephen  
 Watt, Henry A.

July 26th.

#### A Plain German Threat

Germany's determination to outmatch Britain in the gun-power in her battleships was proclaimed in a defiant article in the "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten." Special significance attached to the statements of this article, because the "Nachrichten" is controlled by Krupp's, and other interests identified with the exploitation of the German Navy.

"The British Liberal Press is again agitating for a naval understanding—and not without reason—for England knows that in 1914 the entire German High Sea Fleet will consist of Dreadnoughts and Dreadnought cruisers. We base this statement on the figures contained in the semi-official German Marine 'Rundschau.'

"England also knows that only five of these Dreadnoughts (the Nassau class and the Von der Tann) mount 11 in. guns. Neither the increase of the calibre of the heavy guns to 12 in. in our improved Nassaus nor the superior disposition of their guns, as compared with those of the British Hercules class, has been greeted with joy in England.

"England knows, but says nothing about the fact, that Krupp's have for two years been studying exhaustively the construction of guns of still heavier calibre than the 12 in. weapon. That is why people in England are blowing the disarmament horn so vigorously;—of course, only for the edification of Germany—because it would be too distressing for England if the number of German ships, armed with guns which should possess a long life, should constantly increase, while England is still struggling with the problem of increasing the life of her heavy guns, without making any special progress.

"Therefore it is that we have this urgent warning to disarm; therefore it is that we have the British threat to introduce a type of battleship of which the world has never heard before. All this talk leaves us cold. There cannot be any further surprises in battleship types.

"The English 13.5 in. gun does not frighten us. We shall in all probability meet that weapon with a 14 in. gun, and that, too, twice as long-lived as the British weapon."

July 29th.

#### Further Cause for a Naval Loan

" . . . It was with their large-calibre guns that the Japanese demolished our ships," Admiral Rojdestvensky reported after his terrible ordeal of fire and blood at Tsushima. In the large calibre armament of its new ships the German Admiralty has

quietly gained a superiority while the British Government have been talking of "maintaining our unassailable supremacy at sea." Surely the first act of an earnest and serious Ministry would be to remove this weakness at whatever cost. Thinking men cannot forget that the French War Minister, Marshal Niel, ignored warnings on the eve of the war in 1870 as to the superiority of the German over the French artillery. He refused to believe or acknowledge facts. He refused to take adequate steps to meet the danger. The consequence of his folly and blindness was the defeat of France.

It is agreed by all who have seriously studied the naval position that the only means of safety of our country is forthwith to float a Naval Loan, and with it to finance a two-keel-to-one programme, fixed for a term of years. On that head all that Mr. McKenna had to say was this: "As the maintenance of the supremacy of our Fleet must be regarded as a permanent feature in our national policy, I do not think that any such temporary expedients as loans constitute the best means of giving effect to it." But there are two alternatives, and only two, if we want to be secure at sea. The first is to raise the money required for the naval programme by taxation. The Government are not doing this, because they have accumulated vast liabilities by their "economies" in past years—liabilities not only in Dreadnoughts, but in all directions, which are exposed in a telling article in the new issue of the "National Review." The second is a naval loan.

### NORTH SEA SECRETS

Mr. William Maxwell, Special Correspondent of the "Daily Mail," contributed in August and September a remarkable series of articles based on personal investigation of the naval and military preparations of Germany on her North Sea shores, and the secrets she was hiding behind the mask of the Frisian Islands.

How disconcerting were these revelations to Germany was evinced by the storm of virulence into which the German Press broke against both Mr. Maxwell and the "Daily Mail." The militarist and Anglophobe "Rundschau," unable to overthrow Mr. Maxwell's conclusions by any correction of facts, stigmatised them (with typical Teuton cumbrousness) as "excessively grotesque monstrosities."

But the protestations of the "Rundschau," and other indignant inspired journals, were discounted by the candour of the "Mecklenburg Warte":

"Under William II. a magnificent system of coast defence has sprung up. With amazement and dread the English see its culmination yearly drawing nearer.

"By means of the chain of fortifications which reaches from Borkum to Heligoland, and which will certainly some day be extended to Sylt (an island

some forty miles N.N.E. of Heligoland), the German Fleet is assured of so wide a manœuvre area that at pleasure it can disappear under cover and reappear a hundred and fifty kilometres (ninety-four miles) away. The enemy is therefore compelled to concentrate her forces, instead of scattering them, as she would prefer, to blockade all our river mouths. Our torpedo-boats have, however, a safe route to their sallyport Borkum, whence they can appear in six hours on the English coast.

"The whole system, which is entirely due to William II.'s initiative, doubles the strength of our fleet. To make a breach in these fortifications, or even to establish a possibility of making an attempt to do so—this is the idea at which the English clutch ever more despairingly.

"It is not now sufficient to receive casual reports. Highly paid agents and their officers now devote their lives and risk an end in a German prison in order to make expert surveys of the newly erected fortifications.

"Twenty years ago the English War Office paid grudgingly in guineas for German information. For the knowledge of what has been done under William II. they would willingly pay millions of pounds."

August 29th.

### THE SECRET OF BORKUM

The arrest of two Englishmen, Messrs. Brandon and Trench, on suspicion of espionage in the Island of Borkum must be regarded as an open confession of German activity in naval and military works of strategic importance on the North Sea.

It will be remembered that some months ago Baron Heeckeren, who was formerly in the Dutch diplomatic service, declared in Parliament at The Hague that the German Emperor had written a letter insisting on Holland strengthening her defence against possible attack by Great Britain, and hinting that in the event of failure he would be compelled to take measures of his own.

The Dutch Government denied emphatically that such a letter had been received by Queen Wilhelmina. Baron Heeckeren, however, persists in his statement, and points out that he never said that the letter was addressed to Queen Wilhelmina.

Whether the German Emperor wrote a letter or not is, after all, immaterial. The important thing is this—was there a hint from Berlin, and has that hint been followed by action in Holland or Belgium, or in Germany? It was in order to obtain enlightenment on these points that I lately made an excursion along the frontiers of the Netherlands, and paid a visit to Emden and to Borkum. My visit to Borkum was made a month before the arrest of Messrs. Brandon and Trench, but I think that I shall be able to show some of the causes of this



recrudescence of "spy-mania" which has involved two English tourists in serious difficulties.

### The Loaded Pistol

*The independence of Holland and Belgium is our first and our greatest interest on the Continent of Europe. In the hands of a hostile Power the Netherlands would be, as has often been said, a loaded pistol pointed at the heart of the British Empire. Between Brest and the Baltic there are no great natural harbours, save those of Holland and Belgium, that could be used with effect against us. If Germany ever succeeds in controlling this maritime zone her capacity for naval military, and economic war would be increased a hundredfold. Her ships would have secure bases within easy striking distance from our coasts; her armies would have railways for rapid concentration, and for outflanking our friends coming from France, and her rulers would be able not merely to paralyse, but also to destroy, all commerce between the Continent and the British Isles.*

For these reasons we are bound to look with suspicion on anything that tends to disturb the balance of power in this part of Europe, and to preserve at all hazards the independence and integrity of the Netherlands. That this balance of power is being disturbed is undoubted. It is clear that in Borkum, at Emden, and at Malmedy—to take only three important points—operations are in progress to strengthen materially the position of Germany with regard to Holland and Belgium. With these developments I purpose dealing more fully at another time. For the present, it may suffice to indicate briefly the steps taken by Germany.

The importance of Emden in the waters that divide Holland from Germany and flow into the North Sea is unquestionably great, though its capacity as a naval base has been sometimes exaggerated. Eighteen months ago, when I paid my first visit to Emden, I found nothing to justify some of the legends that have been written about it.

The inner harbour is little more than a broad canal fed from the River Ems, and separated from the outer harbour by sluice-gates. The outer harbour itself is narrow and difficult of access, and its limited accommodation and machinery are taxed to the utmost by the merchant ships and colliers that crowd the wharf. At the most, Emden would at present be practicable only for torpedo and small craft in war.

### Importance of Emden

But the importance of Emden as a naval base is already undergoing a change. A few months ago work was begun on a new and a greater dock at the east of the outer harbour. Already sufficient progress has been made to show that this new harbour will add greatly to the capacity of Emden

for commerce and for war. Not only in size, but also in facilities for access, this latest addition to the resources of the Dollart is vastly superior to the existing accommodation, and will amply repay the expenditure.

The importance of the Dollart—the name given to these waters—needs no demonstration. A glance at the map shows it. Not only does the Dollart expose Delfzyl and an important flank of Holland to attack from Germany, but it also gives the readiest access to the North Sea and the British coast. Not for commercial reasons alone does Germany lay claim to exclusive possession of the channel, and spend so much time and money in preserving and improving it.

Activity is not confined to Emden and the mouth of the Ems. Oposite the entrance to the Dollart lies the island of Borkum, one of the line of sentries that seem to guard the Frisian coast. Until the arrest of Messrs. Brandon and Trench the name of Borkum was unknown in Britain, though it suggests to the North German all the attractions that the Isle of Wight has for the citizen of London, or the Isle of Man for the North-countryman.

In recent years Borkum has become a popular summer resort, and vast sums are being spent on protecting it from the encroachments of the sea.

The waters are shallow, but a great mole, partly natural and partly artificial, stretches out from the south-east to give anchorage for ships. The enterprise, so manifest to every visitor, is not restricted to holiday attractions. *The day is approaching when Borkum will be known not as a holiday resort in the North Sea, but as a flying base for naval operations.* Though there are at present no forts of the kind to attract a "camera fiend," there are works in progress with vigilant and suspicious sentinels over them, and little barracks for artillerymen cautiously tucked away among the sand-dunes, over which is written on every side the word "Verboten" (Forbidden).

### The Control of Belgium

*Belgium, unlike Holland, is a neutral State guaranteed by some of the Powers, including Great Britain and Prussia. The importance of Belgium in war has been demonstrated on many historic occasions. It occupies a most vital position for offence and defence, and the Power that controls it in war has incalculable advantage.*

Germany already has several lines of concentration on the Belgian frontier, and has direct access by railway to the important centres of population and trade. She is adding one more link to the chain. From Aix-la-Chapelle there runs south, and almost parallel with the Belgian frontier, a double line of rails which passes near to the vast manœuvring camp of the Coblenz Army Corps at Elsenborn.

This is not a commercial railway, despite its

many and extensive sidings. It is obviously a military railway along the Belgian frontier. At Weismes a single branch line goes west to Malmedy, which is close to the border. To reach Belgian territory from Malmedy you must walk or take the diligence, which travels twice a day and is crowded with six passengers. For many years Germany urged upon Belgium the need for a railway to join Malmedy with Stavelot—the Belgian frontier town—and the railway system to Liège and Brussels.

With a suspicious glance at the great military camp over the border at Elsenborn, the Belgians were at first shy and then obstinate. But the opposition has been removed. A tunnel now pierces the frontier beyond Malmedy, the permanent way is made, *and in a few months this important line will be opened for traffic, and a new and important railway route into Belgium will be under German control.*

Are these some of the measures that the German Emperor has been compelled to take "in order to secure the Netherlands against attack"?

August 30th.

#### GERMAN ADVANCE IN THE NORTH SEA

I showed how Germany is strengthening her strategic position in the North Sea and with regard to the Netherlands. The new harbour at the mouth of the Ems, and the arming of Borkum, one of the islands that cover the approach to the Dollart, are of special importance to Great Britain, seeing that they will eventually bring nearer to our coast the mighty Armada of the Emperor. To the Dutch they are of less concern, for, in the event of war with Germany, their land frontiers are always open for the east.

When the Kaiser insisted on Holland improving her defences he overlooked the land frontier. There is but one possible condition under which we could even contemplate a British invasion of the Netherlands, and that is the maintenance of their integrity and independence. Germany, on the contrary, has strong inducements to occupy territory that would give her enormous strategic and commercial advantages. Balancing the temptations and opportunities, it is much more likely that the coast defences recommended by the Emperor would be used by Germans rather than by the Dutch, and would be directed against efforts on the part of Great Britain to restore the independence of Holland and Belgium. That is the opinion of the Dutch. They fear Germany rather than Britain, and avoid every excuse for German interference. For this reason they make no protest against the conversion of the Ems into a German naval base.

The possession of the mouth of the Ems is disputed. In the neutrality regulations of 1870, Germany claims that the waters are within her territory; whereas in the German official history of the war, mention is made of "the semi-neutral

channel at the mouth of the Ems." Holland, however, insists that the channel to the left of the line of its greatest depth is Dutch. None the less, the Ems must be regarded strategically as a German stream. At any rate, it is certain that German warships could be put to sea without violating Dutch neutrality, whether we accept mid-channel as the territorial line or not.

#### A New Factor

Hitherto it has been accepted as an axiom that if Germany was at war the mouth of the Ems could be blockaded without violating Dutch neutrality, since access to Emden might be closed by operations outside the territorial limits. But the arming of Borkum, and the conversion of the island into a flying base for torpedo craft, introduces a new factor. The three channels that afford access to the Ems unite on the west side of Borkum. Ships drawing 26 feet of water can enter the Ems, and they cannot keep further off shore than 2,187 yards. We have here the reason for German activity in the island of Borkum. It is to become a *second Heligoland to guard the entrance to the Dollart, and to prevent a blockade.*

The work of strengthening Borkum is proceeding simultaneously with that of extending the accommodation of Emden. The existing harbour in the mouth of the river Ems is not suited to vessels of war, though comparatively large merchant ships crowd its limited wharves. Ceaseless efforts, however, are made to broaden and deepen the channel, and the new and spacious harbour in course of construction will provide safe and easy access. The entrance to the new harbour will not be, like the entrance to the present outer harbour, at right angles to the main channel from the sea, but almost in line with the channel. It is impossible to enter into all the details of this new and important construction. *The one thing that concerns us is that within a very short time Emden will become a naval base capable of sheltering great ships of war and having ample space for the erection of arsenals and workshops.* The work proceeds rapidly, as anyone may see who sails up the Dollart and wanders as far as the sentry permits him.

#### Unmistakable Evidence

Borkum is to be the seaward of this naval base. Here, as I have already stated, works are in progress. Along the west end of the island great ramparts of brick are being erected with a double promenade. It is at this point that the waters are deepest, for the shallows extend toward the south and the east, though there is a channel running from the south that gives access to the interior. Here also may be seen by the curious visitor to this summer resort in the North Sea unmistakable evidence of preparation for the construction of land defences and batteries.



Holland is forced to look on with assumed indifference while her territorial claims in these waters are being neutralised or destroyed. The proposal has been made that torpedo-boats should be stationed at Delfzyl, which lies almost opposite Emden. But the utmost they could do would be police work, and the suggestion has not been adopted. If Holland was at war with any Power other than Germany the occupation of Delfzyl would be of no practical importance, seeing that the fear of violating the neutrality of Germany would effectually prevent operations against this port. Therefore, Delfzyl lies defenceless in the rapidly spreading shadow of Emden.

To attack this German base by land would seem equally hopeless. To land troops in Gröningen, the only practicable point, would be possible only with the co-operation of the Dutch, and would bring the invader into immediate conflict with the military forces that Germany would undoubtedly throw into this part of Holland in the event of war. Holland has her own scheme of defence, as I shall show later, but it is a serious question whether her people would have the same audacity of self-sacrifice that distinguished them in the wars against Spain. Would they act with the promptitude that is necessary, or would they, as on more than one critical occasion, hesitate and be lost? That is the question most vital to the defence of the Netherlands if the moment should come when Germany finds that she has need for a more extended maritime zone.

August 31st.

#### GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS

Malmedy is a Prussian town in the Walloon district fifty-one miles south of Aix-la-Chapelle and six miles from the Belgian frontier town of Stavelot. The railway from Aix-la-Chapelle runs south to Trois Vierges, where it joins the main line from Luxemburg to Liège. To reach Malmedy you change at Weismes, whence a single line traverses the wooded basin of the Warche. Between Aix-la-Chapelle and Trois Vierges the track is double, and at every village station are numerous sidings. There is neither trade nor population in this region to explain the existence of such a railway for commercial purposes. But there is a reason, and a very important reason. Some miles to the north-east of the junction at Weismes lies Elsenborn, the great camp of exercise of the Coblenz Army Corps, where, as my fellow-passenger in the coach said, there are more soldiers than in the whole of Belgium. When I passed that way the vast plain was crowded with troops undergoing the summer training.

You have only to search Elsenborn to find the reason for so well-equipped a railway along the Belgian frontier and for the necessity of building a railway from Malmedy to Stavelot. For years the

Germans have sought permission to build this important six miles of railway, but the Belgians, having the camp at Elsenborn in their eye, saw no reason for forging another chain between themselves and their neighbours. When I reached Malmedy, less than a month ago, I expected to find that the negotiations were still in progress. But news travels slowly from these frontier regions. The negotiations ended long ago, and in twelve months or so the railway between Malmedy and Stavelot will be opened for the half-dozen passengers and bottles of beer. The embankment is nearly completed; bridges have been built, a tunnel pierces the hills, and another German military shackle has been fastened upon Belgium.

#### The Missing Link

*Five miles of railway across a frontier may seem a small thing, but they must be regarded in the light of the camp at Elsenborn, of the part that Belgian territory has so often played in European conflicts, and of the knowledge that German plans of campaign recognise the supreme importance of turning the flank of an enemy from the west by advancing an army through Belgium. The railway between Malmedy and Stavelot supplies one of the missing links in the chain. For that reason alone has it existence and European importance.*

#### RE-ARMING OF DUTCH PORTS

I have described the advance which Germany is making into the North Sea and the step she has taken on the land frontier of Belgium to outflank an army coming from France. Emden, the new German naval base, is 290 miles from Sheerness, and Malmedy, whence the new German railway crosses the Belgian frontier to Stavelot, opens another door for the march into the Netherlands.

Let us consider now the position of Holland.

When the German Emperor insisted on Holland strengthening her defences he had in mind the case of war between Holland and Great Britain. If Holland stood alone in this improbable event her danger undoubtedly would come from the sea. But it is certain that the Dutch would have the support of Germany from the land side, and, a successful landing being impossible, the war would be limited to a blockade of the Dutch ports. We are not interested in Holland as a potential enemy. We are interested in her only as a neutral or as an ally.

It is not imperative for the operations of our Navy that we should have harbours on the coast of Holland. Flushing would bring us only 109 miles nearer to the German North Sea coast, and this small advantage would not compensate us for any breach of Dutch neutrality. As an ally only would Holland be useful to Great Britain and France. Her coast has many landing places and harbours where the largest ships can disembark troops and

material for invading Germany and seizing the German naval ports. To France especially would such an alliance be of strategic value, for the distance between her naval base at Brest and the nearest German base at Emden is 643 miles, whereas the distance between Flushing and Emden is 240 miles.

### Holland's Peril

To Germany, on the other hand, the advantages to be gained by breach of Dutch neutrality are immensely great. The efficiency of a navy in war is dependent on the number and capacity of its bases, and on its lines of communication. Possession of the Dutch coast would greatly extend the German base of naval operations, for its harbours and roadsteads, of which no fewer than nine are navigable at low water at depths varying from 16 ft. to 26 ft., form a continuation of the German coast towards the south-west.

These strategic advantages would undoubtedly be a great temptation to Germany in the event of war with Great Britain. And the temptation is increased by the fact that the land frontiers of Holland are open to Germany. It is true that direct approach from Germany on the east is barred by two lines of defences. The advanced line, known as the Grebbe line, extends from the Zuyder Zee through Amersfoort south to the River Waal. The second and main line of defence begins at Ymuiden on the Zuyder Zee, and, passing through Utrecht, proceeds to Borkum and crosses the Waal river.

Although Holland can put into the field 200,000 trained soldiers, these land defences are dependent on inundations, and it is questionable whether the Dutch would make the necessary sacrifice with the promptitude demanded by the mere threat of invasion by Germany. The utmost that could be expected from Holland would be to delay and harass an army advancing from the east.

Germany, therefore, is the real menace to Holland. It is a double menace—a menace from the sea and from the land. The Dutch are well aware of this. They know that the extremity of their danger from Great Britain would be a blockade of their ports, whereas Germany could attack by sea and by land. This knowledge may not inspire confidence and accord between the Dutch and the Germans. But, at least, it stimulates in the Dutch Government anxiety to avoid friction with their neighbours, and a desire to convince Germany that Holland is capable of maintaining her neutrality against attack from Great Britain.

### "The Guardian of the Netherlands"

The German Emperor is apparently not satisfied that the Dutch have made adequate preparations for defending their coast, and, in fulfilment of his threat, has adopted measures of his own. Yet the Government of Holland has not been altogether

remiss. The warning has not been ignored. Something at least has been done to meet the wishes of the Kaiser, the thoughtful and disinterested guardian of the Netherlands.

There are four points of special importance on the coast of Holland—the Helder, which gives access to the Zuyder Zee; Ymuiden, at the entrance to the North Sea canal, leading to Amsterdam; the Hook of Holland; and the mouth of the River Schelde. Though the Helder has ceased to have commercial pre-eminence since the opening of the North Sea canal, it is still the important naval harbour of Holland. Here is a large naval establishment with barracks and schools, dockyards and workshops. The Nieuwe Diep affords shelter to the largest vessels which can lie alongside the quays, and Texel Road gives shelter to the largest battleships. Although the Zuyder Zee is navigable only for torpedo craft, the Helder has great strategic importance in the North Sea, and would, in the opinion of the Dutch naval authorities, be liable to capture by a coup de main.

To guard against this danger, the Admiralty have stationed at the Helder a strong flotilla of torpedo-boats, supported by small armoured cruisers. The line of forts stretching towards Schulp Gat, and covering the channel between the mainland and the island of Texel have been rearmed with powerful guns, and four heavy guns in cupolas have been placed at the entrance to the harbour. The garrison has been increased, and the most cursory survey of the position shows that steps have been taken not merely to guard against surprise, but also against carefully prepared attack.

Ymuiden is important, not merely as a harbour for large ships, but also as the direct passage to Amsterdam. Here is a small squadron of torpedo-boats, and, I am told, one submarine. The armament of the fort near the north entrance has been strengthened; the lighting of the channel has been improved; and measures have been adopted to make the use of the harbour impossible to an invader as well as to secure control over the locks with a view to inundation.

The Hook of Holland gives approach to Rotterdam to ships drawing 24 feet of water, though, in the opinion of Dutch naval authorities, warships are not likely to incur the risks of such a passage. There is talk of a new fort, however, to supplement the fortress of Brielle at the entrance to the Maas and the fortress of Hellevoetsluis, which protects the entrance to the Goeree Gat, where the channel is only 16 feet deep. The armaments of both of these fortresses, I am told, have been lately improved.

### A Temptation to Neutrality

The West Schelde is of the greatest importance. At its entrance is situated Flushing, with its fine harbour and excellent dockyard. Flushing Road is



accessible to the largest battleships, and the position is unquestionably attractive as a naval base in the North Sea. The Dutch Government recognises the necessity of removing this temptation from a hostile Power, and has adopted measures that will, in the judgment of its naval experts, eventually prevent any attempt to violate the neutrality of Holland in this quarter.

With these evidences of an earnest desire to meet the requirements of the German Emperor, it might be supposed that his Imperial Majesty would have been content. That he is not satisfied is proved by German activity at Emden, in the island of Borkum, and at Malmédy on the Belgian frontier.

September 2nd.

*The "Daily Mail" wrote concerning this further article of Mr. Maxwell's :*

The works which are proceeding rapidly in Borkum and at Emden are of immense importance to this country. They vitally concern our naval strategy and our position in the North Sea. This fact is acknowledged in Germany. It is stated without reserve that when the works at Emden and Borkum are completed a flotilla of German torpedo-boats will be able to emerge from cover through the sally-port at Borkum and strike the British coast in six hours. Nor does the boast end there. This fortified line along the coast of Friesland is ultimately to be extended on the north as far as the island of Sylt. With Heligoland, the Gibraltar of the North Sea, for the central ward and citadel, the German Fleet will have a manœuvring area of nearly one hundred miles, covered and protected and provided with many exits into the North Sea. This is a vast and a practical enterprise worthy of the creator of the Imperial German Navy. We cannot look without the most serious concern upon a scheme which German newspapers declare will double the fighting capacity of their fleet. It is no longer a naval theory or an Imperial ambition. It is a hard and a dangerous fact which no amount of theorising can explain away.

Germany has, of course, a perfect right to develop her naval resources in whatever manner and to whatever extent she chooses. But her devouring activity in the North Sea and her relentless rivalry for naval supremacy cannot leave us indifferent to the danger that steadily advances toward our shores. There can be only one answer to the challenge. We must build and build and build again until this new and immeasurable advantage which Germany is wresting from the sea is more than balanced by the unquestionable supremacy of our Fleet.

September 2nd.

### HELIGOLAND—"THE NEW GIBRALTAR"

I have shown that the new dock at Emden will give Germany another naval base in the North Sea, that the arming of Borkum will add another link to the chain that stretches along the North German coast, and that the naval power of Germany will thereby be brought one hundred miles nearer to the British coast.

The fact that these works are in progress cannot be, and has not been, denied. They stand open to the eye of any curious visitor to the mouth of the Ems and the island of Borkum. German journalists now acknowledge that the fortress chain, of which Borkum and Juist and Norderney are the western links, will ultimately extend across Heligoland Bay to the island of Sylt, and will provide a screen behind which the German Fleet can manœuvre without exposing itself to attack. These works, when completed, will, according to Germans, double the fighting capacity of their navy, and will make Borkum the sally-port of their torpedo flotilla, which can dart out of cover and strike the British coast in six hours.

Heligoland, which was ceded to Germany by Great Britain in 1890, is the crowning link in this chain. In twenty years the face of this island in the North Sea has been changed beyond recognition. Millions have been spent in protecting Heligoland from the destructive assaults of the sea. Massive ramparts of granite, constructed at a cost of one million pounds, confront the waves on the south-west. Three other great sea-walls have been built, and in time the whole island will be encased in granite. In places where the porous red rock has corroded like a hollow tooth, the corrosion has been arrested and replaced with cement. The waves have been robbed of their prey, and the twenty-first century will find Heligoland not the submerged rock, as was once imagined, but strong and defiant, the Gibraltar of the North Sea.

The most powerful of fortresses, guns, and howitzers arm this German Gibraltar. It has vast stores of munitions of war, and is provisioned against a long siege. Its garrison is complete, and, should an enemy succeed in silencing its batteries, the difficulty of scaling the rock would be made impossible by the military defences of the island. Deep water gives good anchorage to the greatest battleships, and there is to be new harbour for torpedo-boats and small craft, for which the sum of £1,500,000 has been voted.

### Impregnable

*Heligoland has been made impregnable. Not even Prince Bismarck, who looked upon the gift of Great Britain as a burden and a menace, would wish to see it again in neutral hands. It stands an armed sentinel at the gates of the Elbe and the Weser, and stretches out its "mailed fists" to the armed sentinels across the bay far into the North Sea.*

I have now completed my brief survey of the German advance in the North Sea. Not for an instant will anyone dispute the right of Germany to use to the uttermost part the resources with which Nature and the generosity of Great Britain have endowed the nation for its defence. It would be rank folly to neglect these resources. For us, however, as well as for the Netherlands, the developments have their lesson and their warning. We can, if we will, ensure our own safety, despite the mighty strides that Germany is taking in our direction. Holland, as I have shown, can make no counter-move. Even if she had the will and the means, she could not arm her eastern frontier without provoking the suspicion and resentment of her powerful and watchful neighbour. The steps that the Dutch have been compelled to take at the dictation of the Emperor William have been toward the west and not toward the east, where the real danger lies.

The attention that Holland has been giving to her coast defences in the last two years was enforced by the threat of the Kaiser. He is persuaded that the menace to the Netherlands is Great Britain. His conviction is not shared by the Government and the people of Holland. They are not blind to the advantages, naval, military, and commercial, that Germany would gain by possession of the Netherlands. Nor are they so lacking in foresight as not to see that in arming only their coast they are forging a weapon which the Emperor William may be tempted some day to seize, not for the protection of Holland, but in order to prevent friends from coming to her rescue. This may be the cause of that absence of alacrity which has brought upon Holland the Imperial rebuke and warning, and the example he has set them in the North Sea.

Belgium has more freedom of choice than Holland. In a diplomatic sense Belgium is a protected country. Her neutrality is guaranteed under the Treaty of London, 1831, by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Again, the Belgian coast has fewer temptations to a Power in search of maritime expansion. Yet Belgium has often played the part of helot in European wars. Indeed, it might almost be called the battlefield of Western Europe.

And its importance in that respect has certainly not diminished. There are few plans of campaign in the pigeon-holes of War Offices that do not take account of the possibilities of an advance through Belgian territory.

### The Peril of Belgium

*It is no secret that in the event of war with France the Imperial Headquarter Staff in Berlin is prepared to disregard the neutrality of which Prussia is one of the guarantors, and to invade Belgium, with the object of turning the left flank of the French Army advancing toward the eastern frontier. The tremendous importance of such strategy is obvious even to the layman.*

For this reason are the German military railways along the Belgian frontier of interest and concern to the western Powers. Already there are many railway connections between Germany and Belgium. Between two of them—the German military line running south from Aix-la-Chapelle, close to the concentration camp of the Coblenz Army Corps and the railway from Luxemburg to Liège—there has hitherto been one missing link. That link has been made in Germany, and Malmedy and Stavelot are being rapidly united.

Belgium will not be an unconscious victim of her eastern neighbour. Liège, which is technically described as a bridge-head, has been strengthened, and more regulations have been issued for the garrison. Antwerp, on which the military defences are concentrated, is being rearmed. For many years Belgium has talked of reconstructing the triple line of fortifications that surrounds the city of Antwerp. Modern guns have made these forts obsolete and almost useless. At last a movement has been made. One line of fortified works has been condemned, and another and more powerful is already taking its place. Important changes have also been introduced in the constitution and organisation of the Army. *Belgium has heard the warning.*

September 5th.

### Some Conclusions

In describing the advance of Germany in the North Sea, and on the frontier of the Netherlands, my purpose was to establish three facts:

(1) *That works have been begun at Emden which will make the mouth of the Ems a real naval base, and not merely a base for torpedo-boats.*

(2) *That works are in progress in Borkum that will make the island a sally-port for torpedo-boats, and a protection against blockade.*

(3) *That the new railway between Malmedy and Stavelot will unite the German military*



frontier close to the concentration camp at Elsenborn with one of the main railway lines leading to Liège and Brussels.

That these works at Emden, Borkum, and Malmedy have been begun cannot be denied. As to their purpose there may be differences of opinion. Those who believe that Germany has no ambition beyond the peaceful development of her own resources will continue to maintain that these works have been undertaken solely in the interests of trade and of self-defence. For these complacent theorists facts have one interpretation in Germany and another in Great Britain. When our own countrymen demand any increase in the Navy or any naval port on the North Sea, it is not for their protection, but as a challenge to Germany. "We are the instigators and aggressors," said a Radical member of the Cabinet to me the other day. When Germany strains her resources to outrival us on the seas and to strengthen her position in the North Sea, her action is perfectly proper and praiseworthy.

What would Germans think of us if we pretended that the harbour at Rosyth is being built for commercial purposes? Every schoolboy in these islands knows that Rosyth is to be a naval base and is to strengthen our position in the North Sea. And every schoolboy in Germany knows that the new works at Emden have precisely the same purpose. Emden already has accommodation to meet the requirements of the second-class towns with which it is in communication by railway and canal, and has, moreover, a waterway leading to the great naval station at Wilhelmshaven.

One of my critics compares the work in Borkum with the marine parade at Margate. Was it for being suspected of spying out a holiday promenade that two Englishmen have been arrested? Borkum is an island covering the mouth of the Ems, and commanding, at close range, the two deep channels leading from the North Sea to Emden. It is true that a small part of the west of the island is covered with hotels, and is crowded with visitors in summer. Is it for their protection that an artillery barracks has been carefully hidden among the dunes; that sentries are posted day and night behind barbed-wire enclosures, and that visitors are strictly prohibited from wandering at will over the little island?

*Whatever may be Germany's motive—whether it be commerce or war—there is no disputing this fact (and it is the only fact that concerns us as a nation): that when these works are completed Germany will have a new naval base nearly one hundred miles nearer to our shores than she at this moment possesses.*

As for the six miles of railway between Malmedy and Stavelot, its importance cannot be reckoned by mileage any more than the strength and use of a chain can be measured by a single link. Short and insignificant though the new railway may appear on a map or in a railway guide, it completes yet another of those military chains which Germany is binding about the Netherlands.

August 31st.

#### Mr. Maxwell's Articles

In a leading article, reviewing Mr. Maxwell's articles, the "Daily Mail" (August 31st) said:

*Germany, of course, has a perfect right to make whatever developments she pleases at Emden and in Borkum. We do not question either the right or the policy. The only thing that concerns Great Britain is the fact that within a year or two Germany will have another naval base with access to the North Sea and a few hours' steam from our shores. That is a fact with which we must reckon.*

And again (September 5th):

Our purpose in publishing these articles is, as we have already stated more than once, not to dispute the right of Germany to do whatever she thinks wise within her own borders on the sea or on the land. We do not question whether Germany should or should not build a new dock at Emden, or fortify the island of Borkum, or build another railway across the Belgian frontier. Our purpose has been to bring these facts to the knowledge of the British people, and to impress upon them once more the lesson that is preached every year by the First Lord of the Admiralty when he discloses his programme of naval construction, and by the Secretary for War when he discourses on the need for an Army for home defence. The need for this lesson never ceases. It is the lesson taught by every speech of the German Emperor and by every ship of war that is laid down in a German dockyard.

#### "Harmless Intentions"

Germany, as her friends in this country constantly assure us, may be actuated by motives that concern only her own protection and her own peaceful development. But the most harmless intentions on the part of Germany cannot relieve us of the responsibility which her action imposes upon us. We cannot sit still and applaud while she puts forward every effort to disturb the balance of power in Europe and to deprive us of our naval supremacy, upon which our very existence depends. Her apologists in this country may see in the new docks at Emden nothing more than a commercial necessity. The works in Borkum may appear to

complacent critics who have not seen them merely a marine parade for summer visitors. The railway that connects a military railway and a great military camp with one of the main railways in Belgium may seem to them only a tiny branch railway. None are so blind as those who will not see.

We have no hostile designs against Germany, whatever suspicion she may entertain towards ourselves. That she has suspicions is certain. No clearer proof could be offered than her activity in the North Sea, her relentless rivalry in naval construction, and the hint which every Chancellery in Europe knows was given to Holland to strengthen her defences against possible attack by Great Britain. No one in the British Empire ever dreamed of attacking Holland. Our greatest and most vital interest in Europe is the independence and integrity of the Netherlands, and even indirectly to suggest any other policy is to create a strong presumption that the danger to Holland lies elsewhere. The warning to Holland was accompanied by a hint that Germany might be compelled to adopt measures of her own. Those measures we believe to have been undertaken at Emden, in Borkum, and at Malmedy, and we have done our duty in making them known to the British people.

September 28th.

### The Shrinking Margin

On September 28th Lord Charles Beresford wrote in the "Daily Mail" an open letter to Mr. Asquith on "The Shrinking Margin of Sea Power and Britain's Dangerous Position." The gravamen of the letter was that:

"If steps are not taken three years hence, the naval defence of the Empire will be fraught with a danger whose gravity I believe to be difficult to exaggerate."

It was answered by a letter from Mr. Asquith (October 4th), which was welcomed by the "Daily Mail" because, although it made no definite promise, it contained at least a statement that:

"The Government are fully alive to the paramount importance of maintaining our naval supremacy, and will not hesitate to recommend to Parliament any steps which may seem to them necessary for the purpose."

The "Daily Mail" deplored that Mr. Asquith was hampered by a coterie of Little Englanders in his Cabinet and his party.

October-December.

In further articles (October 22nd, 29th, and 31st, and December 15th) the "Daily Mail" returned to the naval issue.

It urged a naval loan to place the strength of the Navy above doubt and suspicion.

It argued that continual discussion and comparisons with Germany were inevitable so long as we adhered to the obsolete principle of settling our naval programme for only one year ahead, and that such discussions caused international friction.

It pleaded that our hard-worked Sea Lords should be freed from the necessity of wasting many weeks each year in a battle royal with politicians for ships and guns.

It suggested that with a fixed programme the Navy would be taken out of the sphere of party controversy and hand-to-mouth expedients.

October 21st.

### A German Disclaimer

The Conservative "Post": "It is a mean distortion of the real position to assert that Germany is incessantly striving for the mastery of the sea. We do not dream of such a thing. It has been reiterated a thousand times from the German side that our naval programme is devoid of aggressive designs. If England is so inclined, and has the requisite 'small change' to lay down a hundred new Dreadnoughts of the newest type, no German politician would get excited at a purely domestic English affair. It must be stated over and over again that a suspicion that Germany desires to rob England of her naval supremacy is laughable."

November.

### MR. BLATCHFORD WARNS US AGAIN

In November, 1910, Mr. Blatchford, in a series of three impassioned and eloquent letters to the "Daily Mail," again drew the urgent attention of his countrymen to the great German menace.

### THE GREATEST ISSUE OF ALL

To the Editor of the "Daily Mail"

Sir,—It is nearly a year since you gave me space in your columns for a series of articles on the German menace. Now that another General Election is upon us I make bold to ask you to allow me to appeal once more to the common sense of the British people.

The Lords' veto, which is to be the main point at issue in this election, is a trivial matter in comparison with the safety of the Empire. It may be regarded as a party issue or a class issue, but it cannot be called a national, and much less can it be called an Imperial, issue.

But the defences of the Empire and the loyalty and the readiness of the British people are Imperial matters, and Imperial matters of the most vital importance.

When I dealt with the German menace last year I was called a scaremonger, and my appeal was by



## MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

many denounced as an election dodge. May I, therefore, repeat my warning?

*The danger to-day is greater than it was a year ago; our readiness to avert or meet it is relatively smaller. In spite of the efforts made by distinguished officers and statesmen to arouse the public to a sense of the national peril, the majority of our people are still ignorant, or apathetic, or mistaken. Millions of our citizens still delude themselves as to the position; they hold fast to the old fallacies—that Germany would not be wicked enough to attack, even if she had the power; that the superiority of our Navy justifies us in sleeping peacefully in our beds; that war with Germany could not make the lot of our toiling millions worse than it is now.*

### The Whole Truth

Last year I appealed to our leading statesmen to tell the people the whole truth. The appeal was in vain. Mr. Balfour, it is true, has spoken plainly about the Navy; and Lord Charles Beresford has dealt vigorously with the subject of naval efficiency, and with European politics as far as affects the Navy.

But the issue is more than a naval issue. It is more than a national issue. It is more than a European issue. It is more than a naval and military issue. The menace to the Empire is not confined to the North Sea. We have to maintain the balance of power in Europe. We have to defend the Empire as well as our own East Coast. We have to take our position as a first-class world Power, or to fall into the second or third rank, and lose our Empire and our trade.

I confess to a feeling of intense disappointment that within the past year no leading statesman of any party has made a single statesmanlike pronouncement upon this vitally important subject. It is one of the most fatal weaknesses of our position that we have no comprehensive and coherent scheme of defence; no definite and clear strategic plan. The Army and the Navy, foreign policy, and Imperial defence are not co-ordinated.

These important services seem to work independently of each other.

Our statesmen do not seem to have mastered the theories of war and policy taught by the great German authority Clausewitz: that "war is a part of policy," that "every imaginable preparation" should be made, and that Foreign Ministers and War Ministers should possess a knowledge of the art of war. In Germany these lessons have been learnt and are steadily acted upon.

*Our danger is greater to-day than it was a year ago, because Germany is relatively stronger. Our danger is greater to-day because our armaments are insufficient,*

*and because our people are ill informed and dis-united.*

### The One Issue

Our statesmen are dividing the people upon a minor issue when they ought to be uniting them upon the one issue which is greater than all others to Great Britain's Empire at this time.

The nation is split into parties and sects and classes when it ought to be drawn together and enabled to concentrate its whole strength upon the task of meeting the greatest danger by which it has been threatened since the reign of Louis XIV. of France.

Our armaments are insufficient, and our people are ill informed and disunited. Let us consider first the state of our armaments.

In spite of the clear teachings of such men as Lord Charles Beresford and Admiral Mahan, the discussion of the naval problem is generally confined to the ideal of naval war in the North Sea, and even within these narrow limits seldom goes beyond a comparison of the relative numbers of German and British Dreadnoughts.

But the Navy has to do more than defend our North Sea littoral; it has to defend our Empire and to protect our trade and food supply.

Liberal journalists and statesmen seem to imagine that when the Government has provided for a margin of four or five Dreadnoughts over the German ships in the North Sea it has discharged the whole duty of man. This is a terrible mistake.

According to their own figures the Government can only hold that margin of superiority in the North Sea by concentrating there all the Dreadnoughts we possess. But in the first place that margin is not large enough for security; and in the second place it is only gained by exposing the Empire to danger in other places.

An Austrian and German alliance is quite likely enough to bring home to any judicial mind the danger of denuding the Mediterranean of battleships of the Dreadnought class. This danger has been pointed out by Lord Charles Beresford and Admiral Mahan. Austria is building Dreadnoughts. By the end of 1913 she will have several. *Who can foresee the action of Turkey?* Should we lose the command of the Mediterranean, what will happen to our Suez Canal trade? How are we to hold Egypt?

The Government Estimates so far have ignored the Mediterranean.

But has the Government taken steps to ensure to us the command of the North Sea? No.

The command of the North Sea (which is our only security against invasion) is in danger. For that command implies more than a small margin of superiority in Dreadnoughts; it implies also the possession of naval bases, of Dreadnought docks, and of a solid superiority in torpedo craft and destroyers.

**MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS***(Continued)*

It is astounding to find so little attention given (on our side) to the important subject of naval bases and Dreadnought docks.

From Dover to the Shetlands we do not possess a single naval base; from Dover to the Shetlands there is not one strongly fortified town, port, or harbour; on the whole length of our East Coast we have not more than two places where a damaged Dreadnought could repair.

**A Nest of Fortresses**

*On the other side, the North Sea coast of Germany is a nest of fortresses. The Germans, acting upon the advice of Clausewitz, have made every imaginable preparation. They have their naval bases, their destroyer bases, and the Dreadnought docks arranged on a compact and ordered plan from Kiel to Borkum.*

This tremendous advantage is never taken into account by Government apologists when comparing the numbers of German and British Dreadnoughts.

General Homer Lea, in his book "The Valour of Ignorance," in which he warns America against the danger of war with Japan, lays great stress upon the value of naval bases. He says: "It might be considered as axiomatic that the worth or even the possibility of the existence of naval power is proportionate to the number and strategic importance of its naval bases."

We have no naval base in the North Sea.

General Homer Lea says: "The number of naval bases must be increased in a proportionate ratio to the increase of the Navy."

We shall not have one naval base in the North Sea until Rosyth is completed in 1916.

As to the relative strength of Britain and Germany in destroyers I shall quote from "The Parliamentary Debates" (Official Report), Fourth Volume of Session 1909. On May 4, 1909:

"Mr. Middlemore asked how many completed torpedo-boat destroyers on the effective lists of the British and German Navies respectively were launched during and after the year 1899.

"Mr. McKenna: There are 59 British, excluding 31 vessels originally termed coastal torpedo-boat destroyers, but not classed as torpedo-boats, and 72 German."

In these important matters, then, of naval bases, Dreadnought docks, and destroyers, we are dangerously inferior to Germany.

We must remember, also, the fortification of Heligoland and Borkum, and the screen afforded for German naval action by the North Frisian islands. One German paper stated that the fortification of Borkum was worth six Dreadnoughts to Germany.

But we shall have more Dreadnoughts than Germany in 1913; at least, we think so. Let us assume that we know how many Dreadnoughts Germany will have in 1913, and let us assume that we shall have twenty-five to her twenty-one. Is that margin sufficient for security? Are we wise to risk the existence of the Empire on such a margin? Lord Charles Beresford says "No." Let us consider.

**Ship for Ship?**

*In the first place, are we sure that ship for ship the German Dreadnoughts will not be superior to ours? The Germans claim that their guns are better than ours, that their armour is better than ours, and that their broadsides are heavier than ours.*

The British ship Orion is more powerful than the Dreadnought, but her broadside is only 13,000 lb.; while the German Ersatz Odin is believed to fire a broadside of 15,000 lb. or 16,000 lb. Are we justified in counting the Dreadnought and the Ersatz Odin as equal units?

Let us count all German and British Dreadnoughts as equal units, and give our Government the credit of twenty-five ships to twenty-one. That is not nearly enough. For the following reasons:

First, because we tacitly concede to Germany the great strategic advantage of the initiative. That is to say, Germany may attack when she is ready, but we must not attack until war is declared.

Secondly, Germany may begin with a surprise attack by mines or torpedoes, as the Japanese did at Chemulpo and Port Arthur.

Thirdly, because the defencelessness of our East Coast and the smallness of our Army limit the freedom of action of our Navy.

*Fourthly, because in naval warfare the advantage is strongly on the side of the attack. Three times in our British naval manoeuvres has a defending force been defeated by an attacking force of inferior numbers. Last year the attacking force was 50 per cent. weaker than the defending force, yet they evaded them and worked great havoc. Rosyth was captured, the Forth Bridge was destroyed, and the defenders lost one battleship, three cruisers, two scouts, and thirteen destroyers.*

Fifthly, in naval warfare accidents must be allowed for. As Mr. H. W. Wilson reminds us in the November "National Review," Admiral Togo lost two battleships in one day by floating mines. The blockade of the German coast would be a work of the very greatest danger. The coast is strongly fortified. *Mines would be used on an enormous scale.* And a fleet of twenty-one German Dreadnoughts lying concealed behind Borkum could appear and disappear rapidly at any point along a covering of sixty or seventy miles.



## MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

We are in the habit of taking it for granted that our personnel is superior to that of the German Navy. Let us hope we are right. But the Germans do not agree with us on that important point. And then it is, unfortunately, true that the German high-sea fleet gets more tactical training and is more regularly at sea than our fleets.

### IF?

*Now let us sum up. If the German Navy has not better tactical training and better sea-training than ours; if the German ships are not superior to ours as units, ship for ship; if the Germans have not better armour and better guns (all of which they claim); if Austria does not oblige us to send several of our Dreadnoughts to the Mediterranean; if we never get into hot water with any other naval Power, and so can keep all our Dreadnoughts in the North Sea; if our Fleet is always ready and always concentrated; if we do not lose some of our Dreadnoughts by mines, by wreck, by torpedo surprise, or by the inevitable dangers of blockade, then we shall have a power of twenty-five to twenty-one with which to defeat the Germans in the event of war, and protect some seven hundred miles of undefended coast-line.*

But even then the Germans have the great strategical advantage of the initiative, and the great strategical advantages of a fortified coast, of naval bases, of Dreadnought docks, and of superiority in destroyers.

Is that a satisfactory position? Suppose we were German officers, should we regard the British command of the North Sea as so established and secure as to render it unwise to make any attempt to overthrow it? Leaving out of the question the serious criticisms of Lord Charles Beresford as to the shortness of stores, the weakness in men, the insecurity of the trade routes, and the dangerous reduction of our power in the Mediterranean, I claim that the Government has neglected its duty, and that our position in the North Sea is precarious.

*This matter, upon which the existence of the Empire depends, upon which the security of our trade and the immunity of our country from invasion depend, is surely of very much greater importance to the nation and to the Empire than any tinkering with the House of Lords.*

November 24th, 1910.

### WAR AND POLICY

To the Editor of the "Daily Mail"

Sir,—The indifference of the British public to foreign politics and to national defence is due to a very general ignorance of foreign theories of war and policy. I make no claim to authority on those

matters, but I am interested in them, and I feel that I may render useful service by giving my countrymen who never read the Service papers a short and plain statement of the opinion of men better qualified than I can pretend to be.

How many Britons know anything about Clausewitz? How many have so much as heard his name? Yet Clausewitz is more important to the British people to-day than the Lords' veto or the question of Irish Home Rule.

Clausewitz was a great German writer on policy and war. He is the greatest authority on strategy. The policy and the strategy of Germany are based upon the theories of Clausewitz. If we read Clausewitz, and then read the political and military history of Germany since Clausewitz wrote his great book on war, we shall understand German policy and strategy, and shall be compelled to admit that what Clausewitz taught Germany has learned, and that the lesson has borne fruit in action.

### "Power and Expediency"

*The two great wars waged by Germany, against Austria in 1866 and against France in 1870, were not sudden outbursts due to political misunderstandings on the eve of those wars. Both wars were deliberate and premeditated. Bismarck (a disciple of Clausewitz) began to prepare for war with Austria two years before he struck the first blow: the war with France was decided upon three years before the pretended cause of dispute arose. Bismarck, as a pupil of Clausewitz, considered only two things—"power and expediency." German policy, based upon the teachings of Clausewitz, may be expressed in two questions, the questions laid down by Clausewitz: "Is it expedient to do this? Have we the power to do it?" If it will benefit the Fatherland to break up the British Empire, then it is expedient to break up the British Empire, That answers the first question. The second question; "Have we the power to break up the British Empire?" is all that remains. It is being answered now by the strenuous naval preparations of the German Government. When it can be answered in the affirmative there will be war.*

Clausewitz taught Germany that "war is a part of policy." He taught that policy is a system of bargaining or negotiating, backed by arms. The armed force of the nation is to the nation what arms are to the soldier. The duty of the statesman is to get the best he can for his country; the armed people is the implement with which the best is to be got. A statesman without military force is like a soldier without arms. National self-interest backed by arms is the idea: "War is a part of policy."

Clausewitz taught Germany to make "every imaginable preparation" before declaring war. Germany did make every imaginable preparation before going to war with Austria in 1866, and before

**MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS***(Continued)*

going to war with France in 1870. Germany is now making every imaginable preparation before going to war with us ; she has made the Kiel Canal ; she has widened and deepened the Kiel Canal ; she has fortified Heligoland, and is fortifying Borkum ; she has built docks for her Dreadnoughts, and is building more ; she has removed her chief naval base from Kiel to the North Sea ; she has built destroyers and battleships, and is building more ; she continually increases and hastens her building ; she increases the power of her guns ; she has commanded the Dutch to fortify their coast ; she has spent enormous sums on strategic railways ; she has great quays for embarkation at Emden ; she keeps her fleet in continual practice in the North Sea ; she has an enormous army ready to march at the tap of the drum. She has long since settled the point of expediency, and is sparing neither money nor trouble to prepare the power.

**Significant Concentration**

All her efforts are concentrated on the Netherlands and the North Sea. When we find that Clausewitz says in his book on war, "the best strategy is always to be very strong first generally, then at the decisive point," and "there is no simpler and more imperative rule for strategy than to keep all the forces concentrated." The German concentration and energy in the North Sea are sufficiently significant to attract the attention, and hold the interest of every thoughtful Briton who is not wholly absorbed in the abolition of the House of Peers.

*Our people are prone to assume that because we do not wish to make war upon any other European nation, no other European nation will think of making war on us. But history teaches us that a nation that is warlike and hungry, and a nation that is unwarlike and fat, have never looked at the question of war with the same eyes.*

Clausewitz does not discuss the moral aspect of war ; he deals with power and expediency. His pupils take his lead. They do not read poems on the blessings of peace ; they are too busy making every imaginable preparation for war.

The nation that has gotten great wealth, great trade, great possessions, and valuable colonies, and is not armed to defend them, is naturally not eager for war with nations which are armed to the teeth, and have nothing that can be taken from them.

The idea that strong and hungry nations will reciprocate the benevolent and peaceful sentiments of a rich and ill-armed people, who have annexed all the richest prizes of the earth, will not bear examination in the light of history—and Clausewitz. Power and expediency ; the destiny of

Germany must be worked out not by speeches, but by blood and iron.

Germany has been taught by Clausewitz. Clausewitz does not spend ink on philanthropic theories. His theory is very definite and very clear. Peace is a lull during which to prepare for war. Make every imaginable preparation. The object is to get every available man and gun to the decisive point. War should be waged with the utmost violence. There are two useful kinds of surprise ; one is the surprise of an unexpected attack, the other is the surprise of secret and superior preparation. Preparation for war is part of war. "If one of two belligerents is determined to seek the great decision of arms, then he has a high probability of success as soon as he is certain his opponent will not take that way, but follows a different object" (*i.e.*, disarmament proposals). Commanders should make war with the utmost energy in order to destroy the enemy in a single battle. War is a part of policy. These are the axioms of the German war lords and politicians. They learnt from Clausewitz and Bismarck. There is an English translation of Clausewitz, published by Kegan Paul ; it is a most important book, and should be read by every Briton who imagines that foreign soldiers and statesmen take their political and military ideas from the publications of our Religious Tract Society.

**Proof ?**

The proof stares us out of countenance. What maxim of Clausewitz was disregarded by Germany in 1866 and in 1870 ? War was made when expedient. War was made with the utmost violence. Both enemies were surprised—surprised by the suddenness of the onset, and the magnitude of the preparations. Austria, Bohemia, and France were deceived as to the real intentions of Prussia ; as much deceived as Britain is to-day.

*How have the Germans acted to us ?*

When we proposed disarmament, and gave an earnest of our goodwill by checking our naval programme, what did the Germans do ? They took the hint of Clausewitz, and made a desperate rush to catch up to us. If one of two belligerents is determined upon war, he has a good chance of success against an opponent who is trying to arrange peace. The German war-lords laughed in their sleeves when we made our weak proposal ; snatched at the chance to steal a march on us.

*Proof ?*

*Was ever a threatened country given such proofs of hostile purposes as Germany has given us ? We have had a hundredfold more proof than France or Austria had ; and we have the historical examples of their downfall to guide us.*

Here is the whole theory printed in plain words in Clausewitz. Here is the realisation of the theory



**MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS***(Continued)*

printed in history in two cases of the most flagrant kind. Here are the recorded sayings of German generals, statesmen, journalists, and professors. Here are the hurried and colossal preparations of ships, bases, docks, and fortifications.

But the Kaiser has spoken in favour of peace. So did the Emperor William I.; but he went to war.

The case is complete. The theory and the practice fit as a glove fits the hand. Clausewitz provided the theory; Bismarck, the Emperor William I., and Moltke put it into practice.

*What is wanting to make the lesson patent and personal to us? Reading the theory in Clausewitz, reading the attack and defeat of Austria and France in history, reading the speeches and the writings of the Kaiser, Treitschke, and other German leaders, remembering the reception of our overtures for disarmament, considering the development of the German Navy, and the significant action of Germany at Kiel, at Heligoland, at Wilhelmshaven, and Borkum, what is wanting to convince us of the hostile intentions of Germany towards Britain?*

**War and Policy**

War is a part of policy, and preparation is a part of war. The set-back to France in the case of M. Delcassé and of Russia in the Balkans; what were these but acts of war? Were they not a proof that war is a part of policy, and that force is to the statesman what arms are to the soldier? Were they not proof enough that where Germany deems intervention expedient she will intervene if she has the power?

Why should we expect Germany to be more lenient or generous to us than she was to Austria and to France? M. Lenoir, in his book, "The German Spy System in France," tells us that Germany spends £780,000 a year on her secret service, and that prior to the Franco-German War, there were 36,000 German spies in France. Are we to suppose that Germany spends all that money for the purpose of cementing her friendship with foreign Powers?

*If Germany had 36,000 spies in France in 1870, how many are there in England to-day? Are they here for good? Bismarck said the money was well spent, and was an excellent investment.*

To-day the Germans are spending immense sums upon their Navy. That also is an investment. If it pays as well as the spies paid, we shall some day have to meet a pretty bill. But perhaps by then we shall have deprived the Lords of their veto, and that will always be something of a consolation.

November 25th.

**WHY I HAVE WRITTEN**

(To the Editor of the "Daily Mail").

Sir,—Those of us who believe the Empire to be

threatened by a serious and growing danger are, I think, generally of opinion that the cause of our unreadiness to meet that danger is the incredulity of "our ill-informed and lethargic nation."

*In spite of the strenuous and unselfish efforts of Earl Roberts and Lord Charles Beresford, the public refuse to believe that the sinister preparations of Germany constitute a menace to this country.*

The fact is the British public will not heed the warnings of naval and military men. They look to their accredited political leaders; and those leaders allow party interests or political conventions to close their lips. The people do not recognise the danger; they will not listen to their sailors, not to their soldiers; and their political leaders are timid and divided.

It is true that Mr. Balfour has spoken plainly in favour of a naval loan; but the evil party system has almost nullified his efforts. If the two great parties cannot agree to place the Navy above party politics, and if Mr. Balfour cannot see his way to a frank public statement and a brave and outspoken appeal to the nation, disaster will come upon the nation. In the hour of such awakening the nation will deal sternly with Ministers whose weakness has betrayed it. But it will be then too late.

**Internal Differences and External Danger**

I ask you, Sir, to allow me to repeat my last year's warning because I feel that the impending election should be fought out not on the question of the Lords' Veto, but upon the question of the defence of the Empire. It is surely the most obvious common sense that internal differences should be suspended in face of external danger.

A powerful Navy is not, in my opinion, sufficient for our Imperial needs, but it is the first essential to our existence as a nation and an Empire. We need a larger Army, because owing to the enormous increase of Continental armies we have fallen to the rank of third-rate military Power, and because our vast Empire cannot be defended with the forces now at our command. But we need a sufficient Navy first, because without it we are a prey to any nation strong enough to attack us.

The first duty of every Briton is to insist upon the creation of a sufficient and efficient Navy. The first duty of every British statesman, no matter what the interests of his party may be, is to inform the nation of the magnitude and nature of the danger and to formulate and carry out plans for defence.

*Those who rely upon the benevolence of foreign statesmen are living in a fools' paradise; they are closing their eyes to facts which they do not wish to see.*

*Does any sane person in the wide world believe that if the bulk of our Navy were destroyed in a tempest Germany would not take advantage of our defencelessness? Does any sane person believe that we should be*

### MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

*allowed to keep India, Egypt, Gibraltar, South Africa, and Australia, if any foreign Power were convinced that our Empire could be dismembered?*

*Does any sane person believe that if Germany were sure she had the power she would not take the whole of our trade, our Colonies, and our possessions, and annex the whole of Europe from the North Cape to Palermo? It is a question of power and expediency. "Is it expedient to do this? and have we the power to do this?" as Clausewitz said. Foreign statesmen would no more hesitate to seize our possessions than we hesitated to seize Egypt and the Rand.*

It was the failure of our statesmen to recognise the German policy, as taught by Clausewitz, that led to the present dangerous crisis. It was the wish for a curtailment of armaments, and the experiment of reducing our battleship programme, which encouraged Germany to renewed energy in the race for supremacy at sea. German statesmen, thinking as Clausewitz thought, saw their opportunity in our weakness, and increased and hastened their preparations. If, after the Hague Conference failure, our Government had doubled their programme the present danger could not have arisen, or could not have arisen for many years. Now it is close upon us, and a repetition of our former blunder will place us at the mercy of a nation which considers only power and expediency, and will have the power.

Let us consider the warning of General Homer Lea to America, and apply it to ourselves:

#### The Hour of Desolation

*"Whenever the wealth and luxury of a nation stand in inverse ratio to its military strength, the hour of its desolation, if not at hand, approaches. When the opulence and unmartial qualities of one nation stand in inverse ratio to the poverty and the military prowess of another, while their expansion is convergent, there result those inevitable wars wherein the commercial nation collapses and departs from the activities of mankind for ever."*

General Lea's description of the military and unmilitary nation applies exactly to Germany and Britain.

To-day, upon the eve of an election to be fought upon the question of the Lords' veto, the following passage from the same writer is painfully apposite:

*"As the Government of a nation passes under popular control its energies and progress are more and more consumed in the contention of internal affairs, while the nation as a whole drifts along among Scyllas and shoals innumerable. It is in this drifting that the tempests of war are encountered. A nation, to withstand the tides and storms of erosive time, must progress internationally; its internal affairs made subordinate to its foreign*

*policy, and controlled to conform to its needs and vicissitudes."*

Our foreign policy is subordinated to our internal disputes. We appeal to the nation to decide upon the Lords' veto when we ought to appeal to them to decide the great first question of the national existence.

A naval loan and a resolute naval policy will meet the immediate danger; but the maintenance of the balance of power (which is vital to us) and the defence of our Colonies and possessions puts upon us, in face of the colossal Continental military preparations, the task of bringing our land forces up to the modern first-class Power standard. An invincible Navy we must have first; but that alone is not sufficient for our need. A vast Empire entails a vast force. We cannot hold an Empire such as ours without arduous labour and great sacrifice. A citizen of Empire needs an Imperial soul. This is an essential part of my case; but, for the present, I will confine myself as much as possible to naval matters.

*Prussia invaded Austria in 1866 and France in 1870, forcing war upon these countries for the sake of political pre-eminence. Why should we believe that Germany, with a ten-fold greater prize in view, will behave any better to us? It is now, as it was then, a mere question of expediency and power.*

*Has Germany the power? If we can put ourselves in our rival's place, and look at the position as with German eyes, we shall find the situation very grave.*

*Britain is not a military Power, she is largely anti-military; Germany is a military nation; all her sons are soldiers.*

#### Germany United

*Britain is disunited; Germany is homogeneous. We are quarrelling about the Lords' veto, Home Rule, and a dozen other questions of domestic politics. We have a Little Navy party, an anti-militarist party; Germany is unanimous upon the question of naval expansion.*

*Germany's power is compact. Her people are a solid phalanx of armed men prepared for war. We have Colonies and possessions all over the globe. We have a vast Indian Empire to manage; we have South Africa and Egypt to attend to and to defend; in case of war we should have to reckon with disaffection in India and Egypt. Germany could concentrate the whole of her energy, thought, and power upon the North Sea and her own frontiers.*

*Our entente with France is more than counter-balanced by the German alliance with Austria.*

*We could offer France little help and little reward. Austria's help would be of great value to Germany, and it is not difficult to see how an alliance with Germany would serve Austria's interest.*

*Should we destroy every ship in the German Navy we could do Germany no further harm. We could not invade Germany; we could not compel her to pay*



### MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

*an indemnity. But if our Fleet were defeated Germany would be in a position to strip us naked, to bleed us white.*

*In case of war with Germany our supplies of food and raw material, as well as our export and import trade, would suffer, and that would bring distress upon our workers. Germany would not suffer nearly so much.*

*Let us weigh up these considerations as they would be weighed by a German commander trained in the school of Clausewitz. Let us consider the richness and magnitude of the prize at stake; let us remember that our defeat would lift Germany at once to the position of the greatest world-Power; then let us realise that nothing will stand between that prize and Germany but a margin of four Dreadnoughts? What, were we German statesmen, would be our decision?*

*It would not be a reduction of armaments. It would be a decision to make every effort and to shirk no expense in our desire to turn that narrow margin of British naval power into a margin on the side of Germany.*

*Well, Germany is making that great effort. If we allow her to succeed, what can we expect to happen?*

#### Trade, Colonies, and Possessions

*Trade, and colonies, and possessions; the political, naval, and military predominance of Europe; naval glory added to military glory; Britain crushed, France left helpless; who expects any German statesman to forgo such a magnificent destiny? Here is expediency dazzling the eyes with its brilliance; only the power is wanting—a few more battleships; another couple of years of British complacency and hesitation.*

I would recommend those who would harbour a belief in the benevolence of German policy to read a book called "The German Spy System in France," a translation of which is published by Mills and Boon. This work throws a light upon German methods in war and policy which ought to make the truth evident to the friendly and unsuspecting mind.

The author, M. Lenoir, relates how the Germans contrived to get many spies employed on the French railways; how these spies were detected; and the Germans then tried to foment French railway strikes, and circulated anti-patriotic and anti-militarist pamphlets among the French workers. M. Lenoir tells us that in 1870 there were 36,000 spies in France. Each of these men was an agent in advance for the German armies. How many foreigners are there in this country to-day, and are none of them German spies? In the event of war German spies and agents resident in England might do very serious harm; they might attack our

arsenals, our railways, our harbours, our telegraphs. Englishmen are slow to believe in espionage. When "Punch" prints a funny picture of a number of German waiters doing sword drill with table-knives the Englishman laughs. But a careful study of "The German Spy System in France" will considerably discount Mr. Punch's humour. If the "spy scare" is baseless, on what do the German Government spend more than three-quarters of a million of secret service money annually?

The optimistic belief of our people in the benevolence of Bismarck's pupils is creditable to their own goodness of heart; it arises, doubtless, from a noble spirit of international fraternity and a disinclination to pay taxes, and is very beautiful; but it is not politics, and it is not justified by a study of Clausewitz.

I can conceive also that the British peers are all that Mr. Lloyd George believes them to be; and that they have wickedly neutralised the efforts of a good, kind Liberal Government. But I cannot regard them as more dangerous than the pupils of Bismarck and Clausewitz, and I earnestly recommend the British electorate to postpone the abolition of the House of Peers for the present and to take immediate steps to prevent a peace-loving and pro-British German General Staff from abolishing the British Empire.—ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

#### MR. MCKENNA'S FAITH IN GERMANY

Mr. McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking in North Monmouthshire (December 31st), said:

"Our opponents have made a variety of efforts to obscure the issue, and your luckless representative has come in for a good deal of incidental attack, in the hope that, by bringing the Navy on the scene, public attention might be diverted from the House of Lords. A well-known Socialist writer has been pressed into the service of a Tory newspaper, in order to make your blood creep with horrible imaginings as to the designs of a great friendly foreign Power.

"I don't know what effect the articles that have been written might have upon that great and friendly foreign Power, but I am sure they have had very little effect on the feeling of the people of this country, and I am still more sure that they have no influence on a single vote. Why should they have? If all these impending disasters were real, *which they are not*, at any rate the public would realise that the naval and military defensive forces of the

Crown are more powerful and efficient to-day, by common admission, than they have ever been in the whole course of our history. And, therefore, because, according to this writer, these forces are to be called up at some future time to show their merit, no reason can be shown for voting against the Government which has brought this force into its present state of excellence."

### Mr. Blatchford's Reply to Mr. McKenna

(To the Editor of the "Daily Mail")

"Sir,—Will you kindly grant me a little of your space that I may deal faithfully with Mr. McKenna?"

"Mr. McKenna's latest speech, as reported in your columns, is calculated to make the judicious grieve. He says: 'A well-known Socialist writer has been pressed into the service of a Tory newspaper in order to make your blood creep with horrible imaginings as to the designs of a great and friendly Power.'

"I was not 'pressed into the service' of the 'Daily Mail.' I have said so; you, sir, in your editorial columns, have twice said so; Mr. McKenna knows that we have said so.

"Now, will Mr. McKenna withdraw that false statement and apologise; or will he support it by any kind of evidence; or will he hide himself in a coward's castle, and reduce me to the painful necessity of telling him in plain Cobbett what he is and is not?"

"Mr. McKenna alludes to Germany as a great and friendly foreign Power. Has Mr. McKenna forgotten his scare speech a few months ago on the unforeseen acceleration of that friendly foreign Power's battleship programme? Has he forgotten that the Cabinet had to make a shamefaced ad-

mission that the friendly foreign Power had stolen a march upon them? Has he forgotten that the Cabinet had to lay down extra Dreadnoughts in a hurry to meet that friendly Power's friendly overtures half-way? Or does Mr. McKenna imagine that we have forgotten these things?"

### "No Influence on Votes"

"Mr. McKenna says he is sure that my articles have had very little effect on the people of this country. But Mr. McKenna may be mistaken, as he was about the German rate of building. A man of Mr. McKenna's intelligence will find it easier and safer to be wise after the event. And Mr. McKenna is 'still more sure' (Cabinet English) that my articles 'have had no influence on a single vote.' *Votes! Votes! What has the danger of the Empire to do with votes?*

"I wrote those articles for men and women, not for votes; and it is to men and women, and not to votes, that Mr. McKenna will have to answer.

"Mr. McKenna informed his hearers that the naval and military forces of the Crown are more powerful and efficient than they have ever been in the whole course of our history. A pretty quibble. But the question is not whether our Fleet is stronger or weaker now than it was in the reign of Elizabeth; the question is whether our Fleet is equal to the calls that may be made upon it. The British Navy of to-day has not to meet the British Navy of yesterday, it has to meet the German Navy of to-morrow.

"If Mr. McKenna could see the letters I have received from officers of all ranks in the Navy and the army, from professional men and business men, from authors, travellers, and journalists, he might not feel so sure himself as he would have us believe him to be.

"Mr. McKenna is in a tight place. If he thinks he can wriggle out of it by bluff or by quibbles, or by evasions, he does not understand the men he has to deal with.

"R. BLATCHFORD."



# 1911

## THE "DAILY MAIL" CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DECLARATION OF LONDON

In January, 1911, the "Daily Mail" instituted its great campaign against the Declaration of London.

The Declaration was drafted by representatives of Britain, Germany, France, the United States, Japan, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Holland, in conference in London, and was signed in February, 1909. It was the code of laws which the new Hague International Prize Court must follow in the event of war.

### Main Features

It permitted in effect the capture of all foodstuffs on the way to Great Britain in neutral ships.

It admitted the principle of the destruction of neutral prizes.

It failed to forbid the conversion at sea of merchantmen into commerce destroyers.

It limited the powers of a blockading squadron in time of war. The result would be to endanger food supplies to Britain, to raise the cost of our food in war, and to prevent the effective use of British Fleets to defeat the enemy.

In the words of Admiral de Horsey, "it is well calculated to destroy the British Empire in case of war."

One of its most important features dealt with the right of capturing foodstuffs in the time of war.

For example, one neutral ship, A, is carrying food to Glasgow. Another neutral ship, B, is carrying food to Germany. A is liable to seizure by the German Fleet. Glasgow and all other British ports would rank as naval bases according to the Declaration. But B cannot be touched by British warships. Her destination is Antwerp, a neutral port, whence her cargo will go by rail to Germany. Germany's supplies are immune. The British supplies are liable to seizure. Every country with land frontiers would thus have a vast advantage over an island State.

A second defect of the Declaration was that it permitted the destruction of neutral prizes. That is to say, in a war between Germany and China, German cruisers could destroy British ships on the allegation that they had contraband on board.

A third and vital defect was that it did not forbid the conversion of merchantmen into commerce-destroyers on the high seas. Thus in war such a Power as Germany could send out merchantmen flying the peace flag, which could proceed to distant seas, using neutral ports, and in distant seas attack the shipping of an enemy. Neutral ports would be closed to regular warships.

A fourth defect was that the Declaration sought to limit the right of blockading fleets in time of war in such a way as to hamper our admirals and captains, and to blunt the edge of our only weapon, our Navy.

January 24th.

**The "Daily Mail" contended that the Declaration of London should not be ratified**

"Unless the instructions issued by the Foreign Office to its delegates at the Hague Conference in 1907 can be made good. 'It is essential to the interest of Great Britain,' ran these instructions, 'that every effective measure necessary to protect the importation of food supplies and raw materials for peaceful industries should be accompanied by all the sanctions which the law of nations can supply.' Unhappily, the wording of the Declaration contains no such sanctions for our food. If construed literally, it will render every ton of food consigned to British ports in neutral ships liable to capture by an enemy's cruisers.

"But, from the shipowners' standpoint, the most dangerous and objectionable feature of the Declaration is its omission of any law forbidding the conversion of merchantmen into commerce destroyers on the high seas. This opens the door to all abuses of privateering, forbidden though this was by the Declaration of Paris fifty years ago. A foreign merchantman, with guns in her hold and flying the merchant flag, will be able to steal out of port whenever the British watch is relaxed. She can then proceed, using neutral ports for coaling and successive refits, to the distant waters of the globe, where the British force is small. Once there, she can hoist the war flag and attack British shipping. The neutral ports, which would be closed to a hostile cruiser or open only under the severest restrictions, are free to her as a merchantman, and when she runs short of coal, or when her station becomes 'too hot,' she has only to return her guns and war flag to her hold and hoist the merchant flag once more to find all neutral ports open. As a consequence, Powers with no coaling stations will be able to attack Britain at her most vulnerable point—her trade—in distant waters with deadly effect, and to inflict upon her gigantic loss.

"That such an intention is entertained by our possible enemies was shown when, at the Hague and at London, the foreign delegates successfully opposed the attempts of the British delegates to obtain a regulation forbidding such a practice. And the mere fact that such a practice is not

### The Declaration of London (continued)

forbidden will be in all probability taken by the new International Prize Court as an indication that it is permissible. It is this which more than any other feature renders the Declaration dangerous to British shipping in time of war."

Throughout the country the Press, eulogised the campaign instituted by the "Daily Mail." The Liberal "Manchester Guardian" declared in a leading article: "The agitation that has begun over the Declaration of London is very useful." And Mr. Gibson Bowles, going further than any other critic, stated as his opinion that "if the Declaration of London is ratified, and the Naval Prize Bill passes into law, we shall have war with Germany in six weeks thereafter."

### German Interest

The unanimity with which Imperial sentiment, as well as commercial and military and naval opinion, rallied to the "Daily Mail's" side against the ratification of the Declaration of London attracted great interest in the German Press. The Conservative "Post" declared that the "Daily Mail's" campaign "has already had such results as to require foreign Powers to reckon with the 'peril' that ratification will be refused, whereby the modest improvements adopted by the conferring Powers will be placed in jeopardy, and the old privateering rights reaffirmed."

The "Post" was frank enough to admit that "in case of war the destruction of the British mercantile marine and the starving out of the British Isles are within the range of possibilities. The English naval manœuvres (of 1909, we think) proved that by sacrificing the enemy's fleet it would certainly be possible to accomplish the almost complete destruction of the British mercantile marine. This would unmistakably cause a rise in prices of Britain's food by cutting off the sources of foreign supply. Such a crippling of the British merchant fleet would also perpetually jeopardise the British supremacy in the shipping trade."

February 17th.

A leading article again resumed the campaign. On that day the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping was meeting, and their main business was to determine the attitude of the shipping community towards the Declaration.

An immense responsibility, said this article, rests with British shipowners, as, should they support the code of laws for naval war that has been "made in Germany," their action would probably settle the issue. On the face of it, the arguments against that code are overwhelming. It represents an ingenious attempt on the part

of Germany and the weaker navy Powers to re-arrange the rules of war to the detriment of Britain, the strongest naval Power, the one State with a world-wide Empire and with an enormous mercantile marine.

The Declaration hampers our Navy when we are at war, strengthens all the weaker naval Powers, menaces our food supply with deadly peril, and allows privateers to attack our shipping and to use for that attack neutral ports in every part of the world. Food proceeding to Germany in neutral ships cannot be touched by our cruisers, provided these ships land their cargo at Antwerp or Rotterdam, so that the food supply of Germany is assured. But food in neutral ships proceeding to British ports is liable to capture and destruction by the German cruisers. The Continental Power is favoured, the insular State is threatened with starvation. *And the origin of these singular rules was a German draft.* As if it were not enough to imperil the food supplies of this country, when two foreign Powers are at war, the cruisers of these Powers are given the right to destroy British shipping by another rule taken from the German draft, and we have no redress but to carry our complaint to the International Court, which, as we have said, has no means of enforcing justice. Thus on both these points we make disastrous surrenders to Germany.

But when we asked in exchange that Germany's claim to convert her merchant ships into commerce-destroyers on the high seas should be forbidden—a claim which would enable those ships to masquerade as inoffensive "liners" and "tramps," and, Sir Edward Grey's words, "to claim and obtain as merchantmen in neutral ports all the hospitality and privileges which would, under the accepted laws of naval warfare, be denied to them if they were warships"—we were met with a flat refusal on Germany's part. The Declaration represents, in the homely phrase, a leap from the frying-pan into the fire. To tell us that we may not be able to command the sea, and so to enforce our rights under the existing practice of International Law, is no argument for Englishmen. We must be able to command the sea, and if we surrender the command of the sea, then the most admirable code of rules—and this is essentially unfair and one-sided—will be of not the slightest practical value to give us safety.

### A Significant German Comment

"The sailors' strike affords lively evidence of the critical position which would inevitably ensue in England if the island kingdom were even for a short time cut from supplies from abroad. The shortage of provisions and food-stuffs, especially eggs, bacon, and butter, in various parts of the country is already making itself felt. Many of these products are not to be had at all, and prices are



### The Declaration of London (continued)

correspondingly high. The present state of affairs in England shows that utterly incalculable conditions would come into existence in case of warlike developments, because England is more dependent on imports of vital necessities, such as food and wood, than any other country on the face of the globe."—*"Deutsche Tageszeitung,"* Berlin.

January 17th.

### The Proposed Fortification of the Scheldt

Attention has recently been called to the fact that the Dutch Government, while neglecting their defences on the east, are proposing to spend over £3,000,000 on their coast defences. That part of the scheme which directly concerns the Powers of Europe is the fortification of the Scheldt, at the entrance to which is Flushing. The Scheldt gives access to Antwerp, upon which is based the whole system of defences of Belgium. Belgium is a protected State. Its integrity and independence are guaranteed by five of the Powers of Europe, and in the event of a breach of neutrality one or all of these Powers must come to the assistance of Belgium. Assuming that the invasion came from the east, as it undoubtedly would in a Continental war, the natural approach of the defenders of Belgian neutrality would be by way of the Scheldt. If Holland, which is not a guaranteed State, were a party to this invasion, the fortification of the Scheldt would be a serious obstacle to the defence of Belgium.

To France the neutrality of Belgium is vital, for a breach of that neutrality would expose her armies to a flank attack from the north. The effect of an active barrier in the Scheldt would be to bottle up Antwerp and to reduce to impotence the whole system of Belgian defences. The Dutch have no quarrel with Belgium at this moment, and there is no reason why they should seek to put this menace on their neighbours.

January 31st

### Anti-Aviation

At the annual dinner of the Royal Aero Club (the Duke of Argyll in the chair), *Major Sir A. Bannerman* said that aviation would not revolutionise war, as was sometimes stated, but would simply change the way in which it was conducted. . . . He doubted whether for military purposes the aeroplane was much ahead of what it was when Wright first flew.

### The Navy Again

The "Daily Mail" called attention (February 14th, 1911) to the virulent and violent campaign of a certain section of the Radical Party against the Navy at a most critical time in our naval history. A determined attack was being made upon the

Admiralty's proposals for the forthcoming financial year, involving an expenditure of about forty-five millions. The Little Navy section of the Government demanded that no addition should be made to naval expenditure, that forty millions should be the limit, and that beyond that the Board of Admiralty should not go.

It is a commonplace (said the "Daily Mail") that this country depends on its Navy for its security and for its very existence. It has a Regular Army which scarcely counts in the European scale. It has a Territorial Force which will not be ready to fight till six months after the war has begun, and which is at the present moment 45,000 officers and men short of the minimum strength required by Mr. Haldane and the War Office for our safety. It has a shipping equal to the rest of the world, on which it depends for its food. It is confronted with what a dispassionate American authority, Admiral Mahan, has called the "high development of the German Navy within the past decade"—a development which still continues, and which has been followed by a disquieting increase in the Austrian Navy, a force bound to Germany by the closest ties of alliance and common interest. Germany, the first military Power of the world, who is to-day able to place in the field four millions of trained soldiers, is, in fact, rapidly creating a fleet of the first magnitude; and as fast as her ships are completed they are stationed in the North Sea. Between 1904 and 1910 her naval expenditure doubled, while the actual outlay on the British Fleet slightly declined.

The attitude of men who refuse to spend anything at all on the Navy is at least logical, though it would bring the speedy end of Britain. But the attitude of those who will spend a large sum, but too little for our safety, is altogether illogical and unintelligible. It is the fatuous policy of spoiling the ship for a halfpennyworth of tar.

*We cannot disarm in the midst of an armed camp. We have no option but to go on sadly, but with unflinching resolution to maintain the comparative preponderance of naval strength which for a hundred years has been recognised by friends and foes alike as the irreducible minimum of our national security.*

*Our naval supremacy, living as we do from day to day on food brought from overseas, and with no conscript army of millions to defend our country, is a matter of life and death. We do not argue about it. We maintain it, and must go on maintaining it against all challengers, even if it comes to the spending of our last penny.*

### Little Navy Sentimentalists

A debate on the German Navy in the Reichstag coincided with the moment when the British Naval Estimates for the coming year were in framing.

Dealing with the German increases, and the attitude of the Little Navy party in England, the "Daily Mail" (February 16th, 1911) observed:

There are a number of ingenuous persons in this country who are putting the dots on the German "i's" and crossing the German "t's," and telling us that there is no need whatever for continuing the development of the Navy. In their eyes it is proof positive of harmless pacific intentions when Germany lays down four Dreadnoughts, as she will this year, and when her ally Austria begins two. But it is a sign of original sin and insult to Admiral Tirpitz for the British Admiralty to ask for five ships for the British Navy.

The attitude of these sentimentalists in our midst is the more extraordinary because they are ready to swallow anything that any German speaker, however unimportant, and however devoid of responsibility and official standing, tells them, while they discredit everything that a British Minister says on the subject, even when he is of their own party. Mr. Asquith, Mr. McKenna, and Sir Edward Grey, they now allege, were guilty of dishonesty and misrepresentation in alluding in 1909 to the fact that Germany is building a fleet of thirty-three Dreadnoughts with remarkable speed, and in requiring that Britain should provide a superior force. We do not wish for one moment to impute any hostile purpose to Germany, though the Kaiser, in his famous interview, declared that he was Britain's only friend in Germany; but a navy which is effective for defence, and which has a vast army behind it, can be deadly for offence. We do not doubt that the purpose of the German Government is pacific, but only because it aims at placing Germany in such a position that she will be able to obtain all that she requires without fighting. It is to give her statesmen the power to say to other States, "You must concede what we want, because you are not strong enough to fight." This was the policy adopted by Germany in the case of Russia in March, 1909, and in the case of France in 1905. In neither instance was there war. But in each case, as Admiral Mahan has said, if "no blows were exchanged, force determined the issues." The weakening of the British Navy would pave the way for further examples of this "diplomacy of the sword." That the British Navy exists only for defence is abundantly clear, from the fact that Britain has nothing to gain by war and everything to lose by it; and that, though for a century her Fleet has been supreme at sea, its force has never been employed for attack.

It was at this time that Count Reventlow, the naval expert, asserted in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung," that the declaration of Admiral Tirpitz, Minister of Marine, in the Reichstag, that the essence of German naval policy, the "ceterum censeo," was to build a fleet so powerful that it would be a "risk" for any other Power to attack it, was "undoubtedly a hint to Great Britain." (The ceterum censeo was an allusion to Cato's constantly repeated phrase in the Roman Senate, "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam," which may be translated: "For the rest, I think that Carthage should be destroyed.")

And "Die Post," of Berlin, gave vent to this declaration:

*"Germany cannot be defeated by international conferences, but only with the sword in the hand. But the German sword is still sharper and more terrible than that of its enemies or its so-called friends. It is possible that a great war would ruin France, Italy, and the other Latin nations, but in Germany everybody knows that such an opportunity would prove the real strength of the German nation, and not its ruin. The 'blessings of peace' of recent years have only harmed Germany and benefited other States which have cause to fear war."*

#### "WHERE IS THE DANGER?"

But, in the House of Commons, on March 13th, Mr. Murray Macdonald was undeterred from moving a resolution "That this House views with alarm the enormous increase during recent years in the expenditure on the Army and the Navy, and is of opinion that it ought to be diminished."

Mr. Murray Macdonald asked what was the danger that justified the increase of expenditure? The reply of the "Daily Mail" was that he had only to look abroad for the answer, where, since 1904, the German expenditure on the navy had increased by twelve millions, and that of Austria by two and a half millions.

"Yet," continued the article (March 14th), "by some odd process of reasoning, Mr. Macdonald and his friends have arrived at the belief that it is right and prudent for the Triple Alliance, to which sea power matters little or nothing, to spend an additional seventeen millions on building ships; while it is wrong and 'provocative' for Britain, whose very existence depends on her Fleet, to spend 2 further five millions. Yet Mr. Macdonald admitted 'that what other countries did must have an influence on what we did,' though he professed it 'was not certain that it was other countries who were giving the example which we had to follow, or whether it was we who were giving the example which other countries had to follow.' He may



possess his soul in peace. In 1907, the present Government attempted to limit the competition of naval armaments at The Hague. Its efforts were rebuffed by Germany, and failed. But none the less, in 1908, it followed Mr. Macdonald's advice. By way of setting a good example, it laid down only two Dreadnoughts and cut down its estimates by some millions as compared with 1904. The result was that Germany instantly introduced a new Navy Act, expanding her programme from three to four Dreadnoughts, and increasing her Navy Estimates by eight millions, up to the present year."

### The Aeroplane

This article was followed next day (March 15th) by an analysis of the present position and expenditure of the European Powers as regards the new arm of warfare, the aeroplane, with special allusion to the activity of Germany. It was shown that the outlay of England was insufficient, and at that time mainly devoted to expensive "dirigibles," "the utility of which in war time, in comparison with aeroplanes, is seriously questioned."

These figures were given in support of the "Daily Mail's" contention.

Country	Number of Airmen	Number of Aeroplanes
France .. ..	50	50
Germany .. ..	40	40
Russia .. ..	15	20
England .. ..	14	5

March 15th.

There is sound reason for all this expenditure and activity. In the most exhaustive tests, although it is even yet only an experimental machine, the aeroplane has demonstrated with out the shadow of a doubt that its reconnoitring uses in war time will be of signal importance. Military experts have recognised that, employed in well-organised squadrons, the aeroplane could be made an effective engine of destruction.

### Another Proposal to Germany, and the German Answer

Sir Edward Grey (in a speech on March 13th in the House of Commons, during the Navy Debate), whilst welcoming a scheme of President Taft's for eliminating war by the creation of a new international court of arbitration, suggested that some agreement on the subject of armaments might be reached between England and Germany. He advocated "a frank exchange of information between the two Governments, to guard against surprise," and asked whether some retardation of naval expenditure, within the limits of the German Naval Law, might not be secured, or some under-

standing arrived at that there should be no addition to the present naval programme in Germany.

The "Daily Mail's" comment upon this and a non-committal communique issued in reply by the German Government, was that

Any agreements on armaments between the two Powers concerned must be such a difficult matter that all its details should be very carefully considered. We have to remember the very unfortunate effect of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's efforts in this direction in 1907. They were regarded by the German Press and by a part of the German people as a dexterous British manoeuvre to place the German Navy permanently in a position of inferiority. Being so interpreted, instead of producing any relaxation of tension, they inflamed German feeling, and were promptly followed by the Great Navy Act of 1908, which Germany is at present carrying out. Sir Edward Grey's proposals, so far, have been fortunate in that they have elicited this first response, which is not unfriendly or hostile in character.

It is quite clear, however, from the communique, that official Germany does not view Mr. Taft's scheme with any enthusiasm, and is disposed to throw cold water on his plan of general arbitration as a substitute for war. But if the question of armaments can be discussed in a serious and friendly way between Britain and Germany, something at least would be gained.

And, in a further article (on March 17th) it was pointed out that

Since 1904 the Triple Alliance has increased its naval outlay seventeen millions. In the same period the British increase has been less than four millions. In the present year the Triple Alliance is laying down eight large armoured ships. Britain is only laying down five. With such figures before the country—figures which no one can contest or dispute—it is impossible to understand how any sane and cool-headed man can advocate any reduction in British armaments. A generation ago Mr. Bagehot, the well-known economist, declared that British armaments "are only, as it were, functions of foreign armaments, and if foreign Powers increase theirs, we shall as a principle increase ours." This is the rule of common sense, and of duty. But unhappily the Government have not acted upon it. *Strong though we are at sea to-day, that strength will pass like the dew of dawn unless we gird up our loins and show our willingness to pay the price of peace by further reinforcing the Navy.*

It is a disastrous fact that, as yesterday's debate showed, so many of the Liberal and Labour Party are so reckless of the coming danger, and so short-sighted that they cannot look beyond their noses. Perpetually they attack the British Government for replying to the naval preparations of foreign Powers. They do not seem to blame those Powers, who are the real cause of the race of naval armaments. They regard it as righteous for Germany to lay down this year four gigantic armoured ships, though her army is incontestably the strongest on the Continent, and there is no Power that could attack her with any prospect of success, and though the command of the sea matters little to her. But for Britain to lay down five is a manifestation of original sin, and this though we depend on the sea for our very existence and independence. Whatever it costs, we must maintain our naval supremacy; we must maintain it against all challengers. It means for us life or death. And, after all, though the cost of an adequate fleet is high, "battle-ships are cheaper than battles."

And on March 20th :

How Europe in the future may evolve we cannot tell, though we may legitimately hope that its evolution towards the goal of peace and righteousness will be helped by an agreement between the Anglo-Saxon races. But in the meantime, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George : "We cannot disarm in the midst of an armed camp. We have no option but to go on sadly but with unflinching resolution to maintain the comparative preponderance of naval strength which for a hundred years has been recognised by friends and foes alike as the irreducible minimum of our safety." *We are engaged in a competition in armaments, which means in will-power and the determination to survive, with Germany, a nation which, like ourselves, is one of the most virile in the world and which is sprung from the self-same stock. The world is large enough for us both, but for us there can be no questioning of surrendering our place in it. Not jingoism, not idle pride, but the very existence and comfort and independence of the British people command us to hold our own in this competition. If we fail in it, we shall fail only through want of character and will, and we shall have deserved all the disasters which will then certainly overtake us. We must, then, go forward and provide the ships and men. Arbitration remains our ideal, our hope, our "gleaming goal," but while we shall do all that lies in our power to ripen opinion upon it and convert others to it, we cannot sacrifice our safety or forget that the explosive forces in Europe were never greater than to-day. The Golden Age has not yet dawned.*

### The German "No" Again

All the "golden dreams," as the "Daily Mail" regretfully described them, of an Anglo-German agreement were once more rudely shattered in the German Reichstag on March 31st. "The Fatherland's 'outstretched hand' proves to be an empty and meaningless phrase. The Kaiser's Government once more banished to the realm of Utopia the idea of a naval understanding with Britain."

"As long as men are men and States are States the question of limiting armaments will remain insoluble." This is the kernel of a short and decisive speech by the Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, in answer to Radical and Socialist resolutions urging him to enter without delay into international negotiations for the limitations of armaments and the extension of arbitration. The Conservatives, Catholic-Centrists, and the National Liberals, comprising two-thirds of the elected representatives of the German nation, approved heartily and unreservedly the Chancellor's remarks. The assurance of German Radicals that the "overwhelming majority" of the nation sympathises with British desires for naval peace with Germany is revealed as a hollow and baseless theory.

*As far as Germany was concerned there would be no disarmament, no arbitration, and no naval agreement with Great Britain.* The Chancellor said : "As long as men are men and States are States, the question of limiting armaments will remain insoluble. Let there arise between two nations antagonism which touch their vital interests, and I should like to see the arbitration treaty that does not burn like tinder."

"The condition of peace is strength. The old saying still holds good that the weak will be the prey of the strong."

Count von Reventlow, the naval expert, chose the same day for publishing an article in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung," designed to clear up the "friendly fantasies and optical illusions" of English Ministers who think that 1917 will mark the end of the German shipbuilding programme.

**The leading article of the "Daily Mail" upon the German "No" is reprinted almost in full. It stands to-day as a challenge to those who have accused that journal of desire to keep friction alive between Britain and Germany :**

April 1st.

The speech of the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, is momentous in every way. It gives the official German reply to the British overtures on the subject of disarmament—overtures, be it remembered, which have been thrice repeated by this country to Germany in the past four years. In 1907, before the Hague Conference,



our Ministers made known their readiness to enter into an understanding as to the limitation of naval expenditure. That offer was rebuffed. Undismayed, they proceeded to reduce the British naval programme in 1908 to two Dreadnoughts; Germany promptly increased her programme to four. In the present year Sir Edward Grey has renewed the offer of 1907 and 1908, only to receive a crushing answer from the German Chancellor. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's reply is a flat refusal, couched in the plainest terms. There is to be no disarmament, no arbitration, and no naval agreement. He has further intimated that Germany cannot recognise Britain's claim to maintain her naval superiority. Germany, in fact, will not accept Britain's present position in the world or acquiesce in it for one moment longer than is necessary.

The tenour of that speech will come as a great shock to those generous minds who are striving for the victory of peace and righteousness. It justifies our own regretful criticism of ten days ago that the Golden Age had not begun with Sir Edward Grey's speech. The "gleaming goal" is not to be reached forthwith. Yet the enthusiasm of the idealist is justified. It is no unworthy aspiration for which Mr. Taft has striven, and which Mr. Secretary Knox expressed last year in his prayer for the coming of the day "when, by deliberate international conjunction, the strong shall universally help the weak, and when the corporate righteousness of the world shall compel unrighteousness to disappear, and shall destroy the habitations of cruelty lingering in the dark places of the earth." Minds such as those of these American statesmen cannot but note with concern and anxiety the ever-growing outlay on the world upon arms and armaments, and the resultant economic pressure upon human life. Germany, to challenge Britain's position, is borrowing one-fourth of her expenditure on her fleet. Britain, in consequence, is compelled to devote to cordite and to steel seventy millions which the social reformer would apply for social purposes and for bettering the lot of man. Energy which is at present being wasted unproductively in guarding each nation's possessions against the international evil-doer would be set free if only the great States of the world would agree to submit their quarrels to arbitration of law instead of insisting on the ordeal of blood. Germany has shattered that dream, and her antagonism is fatal to any world-wide realisation of Mr. Taft's great ideal.

It cannot be said, even in Germany, that Britain has abused her naval position. For a century the British Fleet has been supreme at sea. Its power has never been used unjustly to menace or attack another people. No State in Europe has suffered from it; all, on the contrary, have benefited by it. As Admiral Mahan has pointed out, the British Navy has always stood for the world's peace, and

were the check which it exerts upon aggressive schemes removed, were its counterpoise withdrawn from Europe, a condition of chaos would result. The assertion sometimes made in Germany that Britain contemplates attack on German maritime interests will not stand scrutiny for an instant.

When our superiority at sea was even greater than it is to-day, we never even meditated such an attack. We have obtained for ourselves with our sea power no advantage that we have not been willing to share freely with other and weaker naval States. The markets not of Britain only, but of all our Crown Colonies and Dependencies throughout the world have been open to German trade on the same terms as to our own. Where we have the authority we have refused to use it to our profit. Thus Germany has gained by our strength at sea in signal degree. Yet we have now to face the fact that Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech is a plain declaration that Germany cannot assent to our retaining a position in the world which threatens no one and assails none. The news need cause no alarm. Yet it must compel us to go on, as Mr. Lloyd George said, "sadly but with unflinching resolution," to provide the ships and men that will render our position secure.

*We keep arbitration before us a great deal. We shall do all that lies in our power to realise it. But until the day dawns when wars are no more, when the United States of Europe are an accomplished fact, we must heed the warning of Kant, and "keep our hand on the sword hilt, lest we perish before that day." Our overtures for more peaceful and happier relations have met with a violent rebuff. For us, then, there is no choice but to arm or to go under before the aggressive forces of the world.*

#### Germany's Shock to the World's Opinion

Public opinion, not only in Great Britain, but of leaders of the peace movement and the public of the United States, was shocked by the blunt refusal of Germany and the sentiments of the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, that all proposals for disarmament or for the ensuing of peace by general and unlimited arbitration were impracticable and impossible. In Germany itself it was apparent the great bulk of public opinion was on the Chancellor's side. Only the organs of Radicalism and Social Democracy expressed disagreement; in all other quarters the Chancellor's declaration evoked a chorus of enthusiastic approval. Krupp's newspaper, the "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten," was overjoyed at the prospects of more and more Dreadnoughts. The National Liberal "National Zeitung," said that "the Chancellor's speech is an answer worthy of the statesman who feels himself responsible for the welfare of the German nation."

The Military and Naval organ, the "Taegliche Rundschau," declared "what the Chancellor said becomes the leader of a self-conscious Great Power. It is all such a statesman can and must say to the befuddled peace fanatics and congress brothers. All Germany agrees with the Chancellor." And the Berliner "Neueste Nachrichten" was franker still. "Whatever price Great Britain offers us for an agreement such as she desires would be too small. So long as we keep the material instruments of power in our hands, we shall always be able, on some occasion when our good cousins are caught short on the world exchange, to snatch for ourselves the rewards held out in prospect for us."

In the United States resentment at the German "No" was freely expressed. The "New York Times," in particular, described the speech as "a direct answer, cold, hard, and almost scornful, to Sir Edward Grey's advances. In those passages which deal with the Navy, the speech announces a relentless adherence to the policy which Sir Edward Grey hoped to modify. It discloses a situation painful and costly, a threatening situation which makes inevitable the constant increase of the burden imposed upon both nations, and already heavy as that of actual war would have been a generation ago."

Sarcasm, indeed, was the strongest note in the American Press comment on the speech of the German Chancellor. The "Tribune" of New York challenged the Chancellor's "cynical prophecy" that as long as men are men the weak will continue to be the prey of the strong, saying that "history and the present States of Europe and the world deny it. It is true that some weak nations have been the prey of the strong, as the story of the German Empire proves, but it is no less true that some weak and practically defenceless States have stood unspoliated for years, and are likely to stand secure for ages to come."

#### THE CASE FOR UNIVERSAL SERVICE

Lord Roberts, on April 4th, 1911, moved a resolution in the House of Lords that

"In view of the altered strategic conditions of Europe this House views with grave and growing concern the inadequate military arrangements for the defence of this country and of his Majesty's Oversea Dominions."

In a speech of remarkable power and moderation Lord Roberts contended that we possessed neither a home defence Army such as we need, nor an effective Army to defend our territories abroad. The insufficiency of the Regular Army was proved in the Boer War. A Royal Commission had since then reported that means of expanding the Army must be provided. But the Regular Forces had been reduced by a figure which Lord Roberts placed at 30,000 men,

but which other authorities calculated at 40,000, allowing for the diminution of our reserves. The Volunteers had disappeared, and the Territorials have been substituted for them; but though there was a distinct improvement in organisation, there was none in numbers. The strength of the 310,000 fixed by Viscount Haldane himself as necessary for our safety had not been reached. The Territorials were nearly 50,000 men short of it, and of their total strength of 266,000 men, 115,000 were under twenty-one, the age for military service, and a large number had never undergone the most elementary musketry training. In Lord Roberts's opinion a million men were required.

April 4th.

#### Warning after Warning

The old era ended with the adoption of universal service everywhere in Europe. To the new era we have not yet adapted our national organisation. Yet in the past decade we have received warning upon warning of the danger of weakness. In 1905 we saw Germany suddenly menace France with war unless M. Delcassé was dismissed. M. Delcassé retired, but the incident was significant enough.

In 1908 we saw the Treaty of Berlin torn up; and a few months later Russia threatened with war by Germany and Austria. Russia gave way, and "war was averted," but a blow was struck at the Triple Entente which was speedily followed by a fresh blow in the Potsdam agreement. On each occasion the great combination of Powers, constituting the Triple Alliance showed its determination to use force to attain its diplomatic object, and employed that force against Britain's friends. On each occasion, had Britain come to the aid of her friends, she could have given them only trifling assistance on land—the aid of a force which scarcely counts in these days when not mere handfuls of men, but armed nations, take the field.

Lord Haldane, in his answer to Lord Roberts, refused to face the ultimate facts of the defence problem for this country. Voluntary service has been tried, but it neither produced the number of men nor gives us the high standard of training needed for modern war. Even he, five years ago, held that we needed 900,000 men. It is perfectly true that while we command the sea we are secure against invasion. But that will not prevent our friends and allies on the Continent from being forced to abandon the Triple Entente. *Lord Haldane must remember how it was said of Chatham that he conquered Canada on the battlefields of Saxony. Let it never be said that the modern British lost her Empire on the battlefields of Lorraine. But an ally which is unable to assist where it is most needed is an asset of small importance in the European balance. Such an ally Britain must remain, unless she takes*



up in real earnest the task of recasting and reforming her military institutions. As for Lord Haldane's objection on points of detail to Lord Roberts's plea for universal service, they are almost identical with those advanced on the eve of the Franco-German War by the French War Office against Napoleon III.'s plan of introducing compulsory service in France. The results to France all men know.

What, after all, is the policy that defines our strategic position in Europe? It was stated by Sir Edward Grey with perfect clarity, two years ago. "An attempt by any great Continental Power to dominate and dictate the policy of the

Continent," he said, "would certainly produce conflict." If these words have any meaning at all it is this: In the event of any Great Power attempting to dominate the policy of the Continent we must be prepared to resist. This is the avowed British policy. But how are we to carry out that policy? Have we the great striking force which it requires? No one believes it. It rests with the Government to recognise realities and to make good its fine declarations of policy with deeds. Otherwise, one by one our friends and allies will be driven from our side and we shall stand alone in an isolation which will not be glorious. *Words alone will never save the British Empire.*

## THE GERMAN BOMBSHELL

### The Agadir Crisis of 1911

IN JULY, 1911, TIME WAS DEEMED RIPE BY THE KAISER AND HIS ADVISERS TO CLENCH THE "MAILED FIST" AND TO PUT TO THE TEST ITS EFFECTIVENESS IN BULLYING EUROPE. REPORTS WERE TO HAND OF THE SWARM OF SPIES AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS WHO HAD OVERRUN FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, AND RUSSIA. THE GERMAN ARMY MACHINE WAS TIGHTENED UP; GERMAN "DIPLOMACY" CAST AWAY ITS LAST SHREDS OF THE COMMON CONVENTIONS OF NATIONS, AND, ON A SUDDEN, THE GERMAN BOMBSHELL WAS THROWN INTO EUROPE.

WITHOUT A WORD OF WARNING THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT SENT A WARSHIP, THE PANTHER, TO AGADIR, ON THE WEST COAST OF MOROCCO, AND INFORMED THE MOORISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GERMANY'S INTENTION TO OCCUPY THIS PORT ON THE ATLANTIC.

IT WAS ALMOST AS OPEN AN ACT OF WAR ON FRANCE AND ON GREAT BRITAIN, AS IF GERMANY HAD SEIZED ALGIERS.

Agadir is in the Sus country. There were no Europeans there, and Germany had neither interests nor commerce to protect in that part of Morocco. But Agadir has the finest roadstead on the coast of Morocco, and would make an excellent naval base.

By the Algeiras Convention Great Britain had a diplomatic interest in the action of Germany. The Algeiras Convention defined that interest. It recognised the special claims of France in Morocco, and gave to no other Power, except Spain, the right of active intervention or occupation.

It was notable that Germany took action just when France was recovering from a political crisis, and had announced her intention of withdrawing her troops from the interior of Morocco. The German action also synchronised with an unprecedented period of industrial troubles in England. The dockers and the whole of the transport workers were in violent unrest, and a great railway strike was boding.

Whilst Europe was astonished and outraged at the Agadir coup, most of the German papers expressed calm satisfaction at the action of their Government. The pan-German Press, which had long been noisily demanding an aggressive policy, gave itself over to a frenzy of delight.

Its leading mouthpiece, the "Rheinish Westphalian Gazette," exclaimed: "Hurrah! A deed!" Unless France was minded "to discuss the partition of Morocco," the journal voiced a hope that the sending of the Panther "may have the same effect as the Ems telegram" (Bismarck's famous message which precipitated the Franco-Prussian war in 1870).

The Conservative "Post," which had vied with its pan-German brethren in demanding a "forward" policy in Morocco, rejoiced that "anxiety and mistrust are now removed from every German heart."

The naval and military "Taegliche Rundschau" (Daily Review) declared that Germans with a sigh of relief would unanimously exclaim, "At last!"

#### Germany's Explanation

In explanation of the coup at Agadir, Germany, in a note addressed to the twelve Powers signatory to the Act of Algeiras, declared that her sole purpose in sending the warship was to protect life and property on the Sus coast, and that "as soon as quiet and order are re-established in Morocco" the warship would leave.

That explanation was accepted in good faith by the British and French Governments, whose suave reply was, in effect, that "it was not known to the British or the French Government that any foreign protégés were in danger in the Sus country. Having been officially informed by the German Government that life and property of foreign protégés are in danger, the British and French Governments are anxious to share the duty of protecting them. A

British and a French cruiser will probably therefore join the German warship in this act of benevolence. Seeing that Mogador, a port seventy-two miles north of Agadir, is also without the protection of a foreign warship, a French cruiser will be sent to that port also."

In the meantime both countries waited to see whether Germany intended to keep her word or to remain at Agadir, and the idea of sending a French cruiser to assist the German warship in its benevolent work remained in abeyance. But as the "Daily Mail" said (July 6th):

We cannot wait until time gives the appearance of permanency to the German occupation of a port which commands the narrowest part of the Atlantic and the most important trade routes of the world.

The British Government rose to the situation, and the Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, made a speech that was at once a protest and a warning to Germany. Mr. Asquith also made it clear that Great Britain would support France in any action, diplomatic or otherwise, that might be necessary. It was Great Britain's concern, none the less than that of France, even if the occupation of Agadir meant nothing more than a demand for concessions in Morocco; it concerned us more vitally than France if the German purpose were to establish a German naval base on the flank of the great trade route of the world.

In the meantime, the French Ambassador, Mons. Jules Cambon, and the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Kiderlen Waechter, commenced, in a conference-room of Berlin, those long-drawn "conversations" that provided all Europe with anxiety and speculations during the languid heats of the summer of 1911.

### Mr. Lloyd George's Great Speech

On July 21st, 1911, Mr. Lloyd George made a speech of the utmost importance at the Mansion House. Having expressed his devotion to the cause of peace, and his sincere advocacy of international arbitration, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that:

"I am also bound to say this: that I believe it is essential in the highest interests, not merely of this country, but of the world, that Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and her prestige among the Great Powers. Her potent influence has been many a time in the past, and may yet be in the future, invaluable to the cause of human liberty. It has more than once in the past redeemed Continental nations, who are sometimes too apt to

forget that service, from overwhelming disaster and even from national extinction.

"I would make great sacrifices to preserve peace; I conceive nothing that would justify the disturbance of international goodwill except questions of the gravest national moment; but if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace would only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically peace at any price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

### Impression in Germany

This speech caused a deep impression in Germany, where the inspired Press had opened a campaign of abuse against the "Daily Mail," as a retort to its stigmatisation of the German demands.

The "Cologne Gazette," referring to a French exposé of the military and naval risks Germany would incur in a trial of strength with the Entente Cordiale: "If the authors of such effusions think that they can in any respect affect Germany's determinations, they are grievously deceiving themselves."

The Bismarckian "Hamburger Nachrichten": "The speech will make precious little impression. The world nowadays is not so easily intimidated by England as was the case formerly."

A subsequent statement by Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, and a speech by Mr. Balfour, proved that in the crisis British opinion was united. The Labour Party's leader, while advocating peace, agreed that no party divisions would weaken their unity.

While the "conversations" continued, the European atmosphere remained charged with electricity. The German Press continued their diatribes.

The inspired "Lokal Anzeiger" hurled another warning across the Channel. "Despite the peaceableness of the Kaiser, upon which there is so much foreign speculation, the German nation will not tolerate a diminution of world-power."

Count Reventlow, in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung": "The Olympic utterances of the English statesmen allow it to be presumed that it would cost only a mobilisation order to signal that the last hour of the German Empire had come. But the German risk in an Anglo-German war is not nearly so great as the English."

"Die Post": "The open sea is Germany's vital interest; those who would close it must do so with the sword."



## LORD HALDANE'S GENIAL PHILOSOPHIES

In the meantime, Lord Haldane, convinced admirer of all things German, and industrious proclaimer of German "culture," delivered at Oxford a philosophic speech, of which this is a summary :

August 3rd.

"It is never easy to make a satisfactory appreciation of a country to which one stands in the relation of a foreigner. Germany, moreover, is for us Britons a specially difficult country to understand. Its people possess traits so like ours that we are apt to overlook those other traits in which they are profoundly unlike. Hence arise misinterpretations and disappointments on both sides of the German Ocean.

"It is not an unmixed good for a country to be over-governed, and Germany is still probably too much governed for that free development of individuality which is characteristic of life here and in the United States. But this must not be taken to mean that the order which prevails in so many departments of German social life is not a great advantage to her, and one which ought as far as possible to be preserved. In many ways we ourselves are rapidly adopting German examples, with the modifications which the national habit of mind makes inevitable, not only in national insurance but in other directions. The Teutonic spirit is moving among us, but moving in a fashion that is on the whole our own. And, on the other hand, Germany is learning something from us. She is studying our methods of Colonial development and applying them. And she is watching our vigorous local government.

### Germany's Problems

"Moreover, Germany is altering in her mode of habit and feeling. Professor Windleband, of Heidelberg, one of the best known of modern historians of philosophy, in a volume of addresses published two years ago, points out that the rule of the masses has increased, and is increasing, so far as the things of outward life are concerned. What is needed is a strong and heightened personal life that can preserve its own spiritual inwardness. The relation of the individual to the community is the new problem. The great question for modern Germany is how the infinite value of the individual inner life and the claims of the society of which the individual is a member are to be reconciled.

"In Britain democracy is advancing with even greater strides, but the state of things is not quite the same. There is a general disposition to view the people who already possess education as a class apart. Yet the two democracies have much in common in vital points, such as the desire that the State should insist on better conditions of life for manual workers. The German democracy would probably follow its rulers to war, as would,

in all probability, the democracy here. But both democracies are more and more influencing the policy of these rulers. Neither regard war in any other light than that of a calamity. A marked and growing interest is pressing forward. The demand for the solution of social problems is a guarantee of peace.

"Mutual suspicions are largely due to mutual misunderstandings. English politicians must learn that vague and sentimental appeals to German statesmen provoke mistrust. Germans should recognise that we do not conceal deep-laid plans and selfish schemes under the guise of obscurity in deed and word. We do not seek as of set purpose to annex more and more of the earth in advance of all others. What we have done in this direction we have done not as the outcome of any preconceived policy, but because we were for a long time the only people on the spot. Germany seems to me to have had one particular piece of ill-luck, the misfortune of having been born a nation a hundred years late in the world's history.

"This fact need not materially hamper her progress. She is penetrating everywhere, and to the profit of mankind. Nothing is likely to keep her back, and nothing is so likely to smooth her path as really frank and easy relations in commerce, in politics, and in society with this country. No doubt there are difficulties, and one of the most serious of these is the barrier erected by the German language, which, as Carlyle said, is 'a frightful dialect for the stupid, the pedant, and the dullard sort. Only in the hands of the gifted does it become supremely good.'

"But if Germans are narrow in certain respects, so are we English. We provoke the world by our apparent unconsciousness of the transitory character of national institutions. Change is the order of the day. What will the world be like a hundred years hence? Can the centralised Russian Empire hold together in the face of the march of civilisation and the progress of Japan and China? Will not these countries afford examples which will be followed outside their own boundaries? Will the German Empire a hundred years hence be anything like what it is to-day? And how will it be with the British Empire?"

### The Dragging Negotiations

Throughout August the negotiations between France and Germany developed into a sort of obstacle race. Each side made proposals which the other side could not accept. The negotiations were lapsed and resumed. The position of the German Government was embarrassing, the elections approached, and the old device of declaring a foreign menace appealed to Ministers. But the

German Government were in a dilemma; if they abated their demands they would lose prestige, insistence on those demands meant that Germany must face another Conference of the Powers. And they had already set a torch to the fire of Anglo-phobia in the German Press. Interest in the outcome of the negotiations with France was quite superseded by the anti-British outburst. At Hamburg the Kaiser made a flamboyant speech, cried that the German Navy represented the desire of the German people for "salt water," and said that the German Navy must be further strengthened "so that we may be sure that no one can dispute with us the place in the sun that is our due."

### More Threats against England

*In the "Lokal Anzeiger" Herr von Gottberg assured Germans that the hour was opportune to arouse them from their long-cherished delusion that England had a glorious or even a worthy martial past. Britons were a craven race, fearing to send their own sons into battle, never winning a war, even with mercenaries, without the assistance of an ally.*

*England's vaunted strength was mere bluff, she had never shown that she could fight a serious foe. Her Navy had as little experience of war as the German Navy, for her last fights had been with wooden ships. Her tactics in battle were contemptible.*

And, on the anniversary of Sedan, the following from the "Deutsche Tageszeitung" was typical:

"If it should be necessary to fight again to hold what we won in 1871, or to defend with our blood German honour and the German world-power against our enemies at home and abroad, the Kaiser has only to call us, and we shall follow him as we did then, in grave yet joyous enthusiasm—if need be to the death, if God so willeth, to a new Sedan!"

"Daily Mail" comment on the Kaiser's Speech:

The German Emperor, faithful to his rôle in diplomacy, rattles the sabre. It was surely not the mere accident of the banquet at Hamburg that prompted him, on the very eve of these new negotiations, to remind the world that the Fatherland is "causing inconvenience to many parties," and to announce the further strengthening of the German Navy. No one disputes the right of Germany to her "place in the sun." The trouble is that she is never content with her place, but is always striving to put her neighbours in the shade.

*The "Deutsche Armee Blatt" a military journal, called joyously for war over Morocco, assuring the country that only one of the fifty army corps which Germany would fling at France and Britain would be enough to obliterate the "English clay colossus."*

But the vauntings of the German Press were somewhat discounted by a panic on the Berlin Exchange, and runs on the German savings banks.

The sober elements of the country made it plain to the Government that international hostilities at the moment would spell disaster to German industry and finance.

### For the Sake of Peace

For the sake of peace, France offered a sacrifice of territory in West Africa. In return all she asked was a renewal, under more stringent conditions, of the 1909 Agreement (whereby Germany acknowledged the political interests of France in Morocco, with commercial rights for herself in common with the rest of the world). France made the further stipulation that the Agreement should be an international instrument, and not only with herself and Germany as signatories, as heretofore.

The German counter-offer, in a portentous despatch of 100 pages, was unsatisfactory, and was definitely declined by France, who refused to merge the question of Morocco with that of "compensation" for Germany on the Congo. The German Government was asked to acknowledge France's absolute freedom in Morocco—amounting to a Protectorate—and at the same time France offered absolute economic equality in that country for all Powers.

In return for the acceptance—after four months' dangerous controversy—of these conditions by Germany, France sacrificed territory on the Congo—an area half the size of France itself, of great value, rich in every tropical product.

Despite German allegations, the British Government intervened at no time in these protracted and tense discussions.

### A Storm of Hatred

In Germany, the quarrel with France being adjusted, a storm of hatred broke out against England.

"Die Post" published an article declaring that "Germany is about to retreat in the Moroccan question—not before France, but before England. The abandonment of Germany's original claims is said to be due exclusively to the fear of war with Britain. *We must see to it, however, that the fear of war with us hovers perpetually over France. We must be in a position to begin this war at any time when England is otherwise preoccupied, so that we can maintain our position on the Continent, and then take up the great and decisive struggle with England.*"

The "Cologne Gazette" said that "the experience of recent years has shown that Russia is not to be drawn into external adventures, and is entirely taken up with the internal development of her immense Empire. If now France also, as we hope and wish, finds in her Moroccan understanding the occupation and satisfaction she desires, we shall at last stand face to face with our English friends alone. And that is, indeed, an end worth



striving for, for experience has shown us that when she stands alone England is much more peaceably minded and much easier to handle."

### A Peace That Was Only a Truce

Thus the great Agadir crisis ended in a peace that was only a truce. It became known some time afterwards, that at one tense moment Germany was on the ace of flinging down the gauntlet held back until 1914. There were rumours, never confirmed, that the British and German fleets were one night cleared for action off Cromarty. Few Englishmen, after the autumn of 1911, should have remained blind to the war that Germany was making inevitable.

Proof of the spirit of Germany was sufficiently given when the German Imperial Chancellor rose in the Reichstag to vindicate Germany's Moroccan treaty with France. After a bitter attack on Mr. Lloyd George (for his speech at the Mansion House, on July 21st), the Chancellor repelled the charge that the German Government had shown the white feather. "Germany," he said, "is strong, and when the hour strikes will know how to draw the sword." The Conservative leader, Dr. von Heydebrand, said: "Political understandings are not the things which ensure peace for us. It is the trusty German sword. We are ready to make use of this sword at a given moment. The German people will know how to give an answer, a German answer, to this British question. It is for the Government to decide the moment."

An additional interest was given to the speech by the extraordinary behaviour of the German Crown Prince, who "at every reference to the German sword, and every word directed against France and England, especially England, with an entire absence of restraint, manifested his assent and now applauded, and now enthusiastically nodded as in a theatre."

The pan-Germans rejoiced openly at this open display of the Crown Prince's well-known Anglo-phobia. The "Post" hailed him as "a splendid fellow, and a great hope." Only in Liberal quarters was there criticism of the Prince for intervening in politics. The French "Temps" declared that "it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the singular agitation of the public mind on the other side of the Rhine. What will be the upshot nobody knows. Seldom has the hatred of Great Britain been so freely expressed."

September 16th.

### A "Daily Mail" Prophecy of the German Socialist Attitude in War

In recent years it has been a cherished illusion of British pacifists that the German Socialists might be trusted to prevent a great war by ordering a general strike or preventing the German mobilisa-

tion after the German Government had thrown down the gage of war. Again and again has this argument been urged in Parliament or on the platform by those who have clamoured for vast "economies" at the expense of the British Navy and Army. If there was ever any ground for this belief it has been summarily removed by Herr Bebel's speech at the Socialist Congress, now assembled at Jena. *Herr Bebel declared on Thursday that German Socialists were unalterably opposed to a general strike in the event of war, and added that, when once war had broken out, it was the "duty of Socialists to throw themselves into the breach, so as to bring the war to the speediest possible end." In Germany, in fact, Socialism comes second and patriotism first.* And, as endorsing this remarkable utterance, it should not be forgotten that one of the most noteworthy of German Socialist organs, the "Sozialistische Monatshefte," when the first great Naval Bill was under discussion, proclaimed that Germany might have to face the alternatives of perishing or forcing her way sword in hand into foreign markets; and therefore decided in favour of the Bill.

Thus no reliance can be placed on Socialism as a preventative of war in Germany. And probably those German thinkers who disparage the military position of France on the ground that the French Socialists would follow the advice of such antimilitarists as M. Hervé, and paralyse the French mobilisation, are as much at fault as our pacifists. The French Socialists, if the very existence of their country was at stake, would fall into line with their countrymen, and if they did not they would be very summarily dealt with by the French workers, who are, be it remembered, the bulk of the French Army. It is noteworthy that in recent years when German pressure upon France has increased, the antimilitarist propaganda in France has died down. Little or nothing has been heard of it in the present crisis.

### The Aftermath of Agadir

A debate which the "Daily Mail" characterised as "perhaps the most momentous of our times, and well destined to exert unparalleled influence over future history" opened (on November 27th) with reference to British foreign policy during the Morocco crisis. "Never before has a British Ministerial pronouncement been awaited with such extraordinary anxiety on the Continent, never have graver issues hung upon the words of a single man."

That this deep concern was shared by the German Press and public was amply shown by no less than two columns which the "Daily Mail" was able to fill with extracts from German papers. The general tenour of their opinion was that "things cannot remain as they are, but must either grow better

or worse." And, if worse, "scarcely anyone in Germany is in two minds as to what that worst will be—a violent explosion, and that before long."

### Sir Edward Grey's Speech

Sir Edward Grey's speech was at once conciliatory to Germany and loyal to France. He held out the hand of friendship to the German Government, and expressed his appreciation of the amicable tone of the German Chancellor's most recent utterance. But he warned the public that the peace towards friendship cannot be forced or a better understanding secured in a moment. Britain, he said, desired no further territorial expansion. She has no wish to exclude Germany from "a place in the sun." All that the British Government seeks is to live on equal terms with Germany, and to improve relations with her, provided our existing friendships with other Powers are not sacrificed. "We hope that these friendly and conciliatory overtures will be received in Germany in the spirit in which they were made. If they are thus received, a new day will have dawned in the relations between the peoples."—"Daily Mail" leader, November 28th.

Sir Edward Grey then reviewed the whole diplomatic history of the Moroccan crisis, explaining that only after four futile attempts to obtain from the German Foreign Office information of Germany's intentions, did Mr. Lloyd George make his much-discussed speech, the terms of which were considered by him in conference with Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey. It claimed no predominance, it contained no menace. It emphasised the one fact that where British interests were concerned, Britain could not consent to be ignored. "If ever the time came when a British Minister must be called to account for such words," said Sir Edward Grey, "we should have ceased to exist as a Great Power."

In the closing passages of his speech he dealt with the future of British foreign policy, and definitely and peremptorily set his face against any return to "splendid isolation." The face of the world has changed. Such a policy would render Britain to-day not the friend of every Power but an international nuisance. Finally, he reminded Germany that her very strength is a pledge that no Power will wantonly attack her. With the strongest Army, with a great Navy which she intends to make yet larger, she would be wise, as he reminded her, to do all that lies in her power to prevent natural apprehensions in those who have no aggressive intentions, and he believes that her Government will take such action. Thus (said the "Daily Mail") the speech firmly established the pillars of British foreign policy. "It proclaims to our friends that we stand loyally to our engagements; it disclaims any desire for territorial aggrandisement; it holds out to Germany the promise of peace. We may

earnestly hope that it will end the era of unrest and anxiety in Europe."

This speech was received with disappointment in Germany, deep satisfaction in France, surprise at its firm tone in Austria, and enthusiastic approval in the United States. The pan-German "Post" said:

"So long as England does not show her friendliness by deeds, such as, for example, the carrying out of the Delagoa Treaty, according to which Germany should receive Portuguese West Africa and Portuguese East Africa to the Zambesi, Anglo-German relations will remain as in the summer, and perhaps grow worse.

"Germany must acquire new territory, and if England continues to hinder her, Germany must oppose her with her fleet and army. We have no aggressive views, but will rather fight than decay or starve."

### The New Arm

The "Daily Mail" once more urged more War Office encouragement of aeroplane manufacturers, and further development of the new "arm."

The War Office must take courage and face the question boldly. The German Admiralty has given it a hint. The German naval authorities are at the present time assisting a syndicate for applying oil-engines to warships to the extent of 50 per cent. of the capital required. At the same time they are acting as partners in the construction of a 9,000 h.-p. oil-engine at Nuremberg, the conditions being that the Admiralty will pay a high price if the engine is a success and half the cost should it prove a failure. On these lines one or more of the most successful makers in the coming competition should be induced to establish aeroplane works in this country on a large scale, and, in partnership with the War Office, to carry out experimental work for the design of more satisfactory machines than those at present in the field. Only in some such way will our present deplorable weakness be removed.

December 12th.

### The Declaration of London

IN December, the "Daily Mail" returned to its indictment of the Declaration of London. It urged that the House of Lords would render a "transcendent service to the nation by rejecting the Naval Prize Bill, behind which lurked the Declaration of London." This would "hang up" the Declaration itself for two years, give time to the new Admiralty Board to examine carefully its revolutionary provisions, and for the War Staff to report upon its value. The article pointed out that a distinguished Danish officer, Commandant Hovgaard, had told us that its rules "are as favourable to Germany as they are unfavourable to England."



The long campaign terminated in victory on December 12th, when the Lords threw out the Bill. The effect of the "Daily Mail's" fight was admitted in the House by the Lord Chancellor, albeit he described it as "a raging, tearing propaganda."

December 18th.

### THE TREMENDOUS ISSUE

Lord Roberts, in a long and historical letter to the "Daily Mail," made his great appeal for Compulsory Military Service. In the course of that grave call to his country, Lord Roberts said that it was idle to criticise Ministers. So long as a nation itself remained supinely indifferent to the real condition of its defences, there would always be politicians to assure that nation that it could persist in its apathy unpunished. Lord Roberts analysed and criticised in detail our existing strength, and he concluded:

"Let us cease to blind ourselves by vain sophistries to the dangers which beset us. Let us face the reality. Britishers are not fools. Let them once be taught to understand the changes that are going on in the world and that, however much we may desire peace, it is not possible for us to be exempt from the effects which those changes must inevitably bring about, and they will soon realise that it is necessary to have a reliable National Army. The question is not a party one; it is a question in which every man and woman in these islands ought to take an interest.

"I do not think I overstate the case if I say that the great bulk of the members of both Houses of Parliament, no matter to which party they may belong, are in their own minds persuaded that compulsory service is not only advisable but is essential to the future greatness and stability of our Empire; and that they are restrained from giving utterance to these views not from lack of conviction but from party considerations. To all such, and more especially to the leaders on both sides, I therefore appeal to consider this all-important subject from a patriotic point of view. The issue is tremendous, for it is nothing short of the future of this country and of this Empire.

ROBERTS, F.-M."

December 18th.

### Lord Roberts's Warning

The "Daily Mail," in its leading article, said:

"There is no general in the British Army with Lord Roberts's vast experience of war. His record of service is so varied and so splendid that it adds a unique force to his words. He has fought in India, in Afghanistan, in Abyssinia; and in South Africa he converted disaster into victory. He has commanded an army of 250,000 men in the field, and conceived and carried out a campaign which is

among the most brilliant in history. When such a man points out patent defects, he deserves and should receive a straightforward answer. Lord Roberts has 'no axe to grind' in his fight for British military efficiency. He resigned a post of high honour and a large salary that his hands might be free and his tongue unfettered to tell the truth as he sees it.

"The War Office will drift and live in a world of make-believe till disaster overtakes the British arms. It is to avert such a calamity that Lord Roberts has made his impressive appeal to his countrymen."

Dec. 25th.

### England's Worst Enemy

The "Neues Wiener Tagblatt," from the pen of the former First Secretary of the German Embassy at Vienna, Prince Lichnowsky: "*Although the possibility of an understanding between England and Germany exists, no radical settlement can be found except by an appeal to arms.* The troubles of the Morocco question were merely symptoms of a general divergence due to competition for the mastery of the seas. The writer considers that England's worst enemy is her people's luxurious softness caused by good times."

Dec. 27th.

### WHAT GERMANY WANTS

Under this heading the "Daily Mail" printed an important interview by its Berlin correspondent with Professor Hans Delbrück in Berlin.

The professor is one of Germany's greatest publicist's, and neither a pan-German nor Jingo. Yet he launched forth into militant views which the "Daily Mail" correspondent described as beyond all question those of all influential German minds of the day.

*The professor stated that Anglo-German war could not be avoided.* He alleged that England deliberately planned to fall upon Germany during the Morocco crisis, and proved herself Germany's inveterate enemy. He further alleged that England never offered Germany a "square deal," nor ever, through its Ambassador at Berlin, nor through the German Ambassador in London, "expressed categorically its wish for a sincere, open-handed, broad-gauge understanding with Germany. Your Cabinet Ministers, your party leaders, your newspapers affirm in platonic and persuasive phrases your deep desire for friendly relations. But you have never taken a practical, tangible step in that direction. You must take it, if you think German friendship worth having. The initiative rests with you."

Professor Delbrück asserted that Germany's land hunger was a myth. She wanted markets, not territory.

### "We Do Not Want War"

"Can Britons rid themselves of the nightmare that Germany wants war with England? We have fire-eaters who want war; your country is not altogether free from them. We do not want war with England because we know perfectly well that it has nothing to bring us, even if we should win. Could we take and hold Egypt, perhaps, or Ireland, or British South Africa, or Canada, or Australia? Is the German régime so beloved by the Arabs, the Irish, the Dutch, or the French-Canadians, or the Britons oversea that they would accept it without making us fight, and fight interminably, to impose it upon them? If Germany humbled Britain in war, it would not be six months before we should find ourselves precisely in the desperate position of Napoleon I.—the masters of Europe, with all Europe united to encompass our overthrow. That is a vision the business Germany of 1911, the sane and sensible Germany of 1911, conjures up only to banish as wild and irresponsible.

"Let me summarise what I have said: The abandonment of unworthy suspicions; the acknowledgment of our right to grow and to participate in shaping the world's destinies; the expression of an honest desire to reach an understanding; formal diplomatic steps in that direction; simultaneous withdrawal to arbitrary opposition to legitimate German political aspirations—these are the things we mean by an exhibition of British friendship in 'positive form.' If you have no inclination to meet us on that ground, if your interests rather point to a perpetuation of the anything-to-beat-Germany policy, so let it be. The Armageddon which must then, some day, ensue will not be of our making."

### "It Is Not True"

The "Daily Mail" deprecated the atmosphere of hatred and suspicion revealed by the interview, and traversed all the statements of the professor as to British hostility to Germany, saying, as regards the statement that England planned to fall on Germany in the autumn, in an italicised sentence, "*It is not true,*" and asking, if she indeed entertained such a plot, what there was to prevent her carrying it out? As regards the professor's description of British action in the Morocco crisis—"a malicious interference with legitimate German aspirations"—the "Daily Mail" pointed out that British policy was dictated only by a treaty well known to all the world, the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, whereby we were bound to give France support in Morocco.

"A further charge is that Britain has 'lost no opportunity to unite Russians and Frenchmen against us.' Here we might remind Professor Delbrück that there is no sort of alliance against Germany, but a purely defensive understanding

between the Powers of the Triple Entente. It threatens no one, whereas the German alliance with Austria is offensive as well as defensive. If the Powers of the Triple Entente have drawn together it is because all three feel the menace of German armaments. The great navy which Germany is building by the preamble to the German Navy Act of 1900 has in view a war with the greatest naval Power. France was threatened with attack by Germany in the 'Delcassé crisis' of 1905, in the 'Casablanca crisis' of 1908, and again in the Morocco crisis of the present year. Russia was summoned to surrender or face a war with Germany in the Balkan crisis of 1909."

### Our Desire for Peace

The charges that Great Britain is hostile to the expansion of the German Colonial Empire and to a "square deal," are equally unfounded. Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Bonar Law last month declared in the clearest terms that Britain does not wish to stand in the way of Germany's "legitimate aspirations." We went out of our path in the past to satisfy Germany, with small thanks. In 1890 we surrendered to her Heligoland. In 1899 we surrendered to her two of the best islands in the Samoan group. We promised not to connect Wei-hai-wei with the Shantung railways. All these were acts of goodwill on our part, and show no sign of that "inveterate" hostility which Professor Delbrück detects. And when Professor Delbrück suggests a partition of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa we must remind him that they are not Britain's to give away. Germany cannot expect the British people to follow the Christmas counsels of the Berlin "Post" and to aid in the plunder of an ancient and loyal ally. That, after all, would be an odd means of securing the peace of the world. "We want markets, not territory," he says. But in that case Germany has what she wants. The British market is open to her without toil or restriction, though British imports entering Germany are heavily taxed. She sends to this country goods to the value of fifty-eight millions a year. Nor was there any feeling in England against this one-sided arrangement until the profits derived from our markets were devoted to the construction of a gigantic German Navy to dispute with us the command of the sea. Germans, in fact, are living in an atmosphere of artificial suspicion deliberately created for obvious political reasons. *On our part we have said before, and we now say again, that the British people have every desire to live in peace with their neighbours.*

### Pan-German Anglophobia

The allegation of Professor Delbrück that England intended to attack Germany was made frantic use of by the pan-German Party and their Press as a means of obtaining voters for the Government and more armaments. Further violent use was made of



an interview (published in the "Daily News") in which Lord Lonsdale had said that the German Emperor was one of the strongest admirers of England, and that "nobody who knew him more or less intimately could get over the fact that his one horror (unless compelled in the interests of his country) was the thought of war. . . . There is no greater soldier, there is no greater mind, there is no greater ally, no human being more devoted to England, Englishman, and the English in general, so far as is consistent with the interests of his own nation.

"Die Post," organ of the German war party, violently assailed Lord Lonsdale.

"If, after all the shame and injury that England heaped upon us last summer, anybody contends that the German Emperor is the sincere friend of England, and cherishes only the warmest feeling towards that country, it is an insult against which we must protest. We cannot imagine a German Emperor so oblivious of the real feelings of the German nation that he could have inspired such sentiments as the English earl put in his mouth.

"The declarations of English politicians on the acts and qualities of our Emperor have once already been disastrous for him. *What Lord Lonsdale has said deserves to be described as a 'public danger.' In a really 'disgusting' manner he attempts to flatter the Emperor and show him to be a pacifist and an Anglophile. After what has happened that is an insult to our Sovereign.*

"Lord Lonsdale compared William II. with Frederick the Great as a commander-in-chief of the army. The Emperor knows perfectly well what his military capabilities are worth, and in the event of war he would leave the generals to command.

"Lord Lonsdale calls William II. the greatest mind of the century. - The German people know their Emperor and they realise that in no domain whatever could he claim such a qualification."

[We have been unable to trace any reference to Frederick the Great in the interview, and the Berlin "Post" seems to have been misled by one of those "telegraphic errors" which are so common in the transmission of messages to Germany.]—  
"Daily Mail."

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# 1912

January 16th.

## GERMAN SOCIALISTS CARRY NO WEIGHT

The result of the German elections left the Reichstag much as before. The Socialists gained some successes, but, as the "Daily Mail" had warned its readers previously to the election, nothing would alter the policy of the German Government to enormously increase its armaments.

"The Reichstag is a mere shadow of a Parliament. It has no power to dismiss the Chancellor, who is the nearest analogue in German politics to our Prime Minister. Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg is responsible not to it, but to the Emperor. It cannot cut down the German Army or Navy, for the strength of both is determined by laws covering a long term of years. It cannot bring administration to a standstill by refusing supplies, as most German taxes are permanent and are not voted annually. It cannot pass Acts altering the Constitution, for it is not permitted to initiate legislation; it may only criticise. It is, in fact, little more than a 'talking shop' and a place where indignant Germans may 'let off steam.' Should it prove troublesome and reject the Government's measures for the increase of the army and navy, it would promptly be dissolved and its members would be branded by the Government and its organs as traitors to Germany.

"The position is, then, in all essentials 'as you were.' . . . So little is the Chancellor dismayed that he has already disclosed the gigantic military and naval demands which he intends to make in the coming Session. He will ask for two more army corps on land. He will call for an addition of two millions to the Navy Estimates and for 5,000 more men for the fleet. He will increase the number of battle-cruisers to be built, and require an extraordinary vote to cover the cost of extra destroyers, submarines, and fortifications. If there is to be any change, then, it will be one for the worse. The competition in armaments, far from being suspended, is to be aggravated, and the tension in Europe to be increased by these vast preparations for war by a Power which is already indisputably the strongest on the Continent.

"The lesson for us in this country is plain. At whatever cost we must make ourselves safe. The trident must remain in our grasp, and, to retain it, we must be ready for further sacrifices."

January 18th.

## Facts to Ponder Over

The race of armaments is none of our making. In 1906 we announced our willingness at The Hague to consider plans for the limitation of armaments,

which Germany rejected. In 1906, 1907, and 1908 we reduced our shipbuilding programmes, while Germany increased hers. Germans, who are now being invited to add immensely to their fleet on the excuse that England meditates a sudden attack upon them, might do well to ponder over these facts. They at least suggest the question why Germany should spend millions and keep the whole world in tension to meet a danger which is purely imaginary—to avert a struggle of which no one in this country or in France dreams or has ever dreamed.

January 31st.

The six months' campaign of Anglophobia . . . has not been without effect. When will the German Government allow the German people to know the real truth—that Germany is keeping all Europe in a state of alarm for the sake of a form of Government which rests not upon the votes of her people, but upon the bayonets of her soldiers?

January 26th.

## What the Germans Really Want

(Extract from article by Mr. Charles E. Hands)

The commercial Liberals, who are the strongest Anglophobes, being unable to improve business conditions by Liberal legislation, are eager to see what a strong navy will do for them. They want lessened duties, cheaper prices, reduced cost of administration, some prospect of better relations with their workmen, and some relief from the growing charges, that fall chiefly upon business, of the costly Socialist legislation that does not satisfy the Socialists. As the system of politics gives them no chance of obtaining these requirements, they are willing to see what they can get by fighting. They are the people who talk most of annexing Holland, spreading to the sea as far as Calais.

Some extreme Socialists look forward almost with eagerness to the prospect of war, because they think that, whatever its result, it would bring about a tremendous political upheaval that would end in revolution.

February 8th.

## Lord Haldane

Lord Haldane made a journey to Berlin that was regarded somewhat as a surprise and that excited, both in England and Germany, much speculation. Lord Haldane himself told the Berlin representative of the "Daily Mail" that his trip was of an entirely non-political character.



"Will your lordship's visit have a favourable effect on peace and general Anglo-German relations in particular?" "I hope," he smiled back, "that my visits always make for peace."

But both German Press and public were persuaded that he had come with a mission of transcendent political importance.

A list of topics which, the newspapers said, were "undoubtedly" the cause of Lord Haldane's "mission."—(1) A mission from the King to the Kaiser for an Anglo-German entente; (2) limitation of armaments; (3) arrangements for exchange of information in regard to military and naval estimates; (4) division of the Portuguese colonies; (5) negotiations for the pardon of Mr. Bertrand Stewart; (6) the cession of Walfisch Bay in exchange for certain German sovereign rights in Zanzibar; (7) to meet Sir Ernest Cassel here and carry on negotiations with regard to the Bagdad Railway; (8) the regulation of Anglo-German colonial boundaries in Africa.

### Mr. Churchill Speaks Out

In the meantime Mr. Churchill, in England, delivered a speech at Glasgow (February 9th) which the "Daily Mail" characterised as a political event of the first order.

Mr. Churchill definitely announced that if other Powers increased their navies we should increase ours in greater ratio, so as to enlarge our margin of superiority. Whatever happened abroad there would be "no whining" and "no hoisting of distress signals," in Great Britain.

Almost in the terms of the great Athenian orator Pericles he recapitulated our resources and showed that they would be equal to the strain, and that, whoever succumbed, Britain would not go down in the competition. He pronounced against a naval loan, but suggested that it might be advisable to pass a Navy Act, fixing the shipbuilding programme in advance for a short term of years. He declared that a strong fleet was a vital necessity to Great Britain, but only a luxury to Germany.

The British Navy (he added) was in a high state of preparedness. But to meet the threatened foreign competition the Government would stint neither men nor money. In this determination they were absolutely agreed.

The "Daily Mail," in a leading article (February 10th), touching upon the extravagant speculations of the German Press as regard Lord Haldane's visit, said:

... The British Government has not changed its policy because Lord Haldane has gone to Berlin. It is not negotiating behind the backs of its friends of the Triple Entente—France and Russia. There is no question of abandoning the principle

which Sir Edward Grey so emphatically laid down in his speech of November 27th, and "making new friendships at the expense of the ones which we already possess." We stand absolutely where we have always stood. Our friends on the Continent may trust our loyalty absolutely. Lord Haldane's visit is unofficial and undiplomatic in character. . . . If, as the result of these unofficial talks with friends, steps can be taken to dispel the illusion which Dr. Delbrück told us in his famous interview in the "Daily Mail" is universal in Germany, that the British Government last autumn planned a treacherous attack upon the German Fleet, everyone will rejoice. But as the Kaiser, the German Admiralty, and the German Foreign Office already know this to be sheer nonsense, and as they have not, apparently, been able to convert the German people to the correct view, we do not see how Lord Haldane is to succeed.

The wise policy is frankly to recognise that we cannot force the pace in improving our relations with Germany, and that, as Mr. Churchill pointed out in his splendid speech at Glasgow yesterday, "the nations of Europe are at this moment pressing forward and pressing each other forward into an avenue of almost indefinite naval expansion and expense." Neither expostulations nor polite protestations will get rid of that grim fact. It follows as the consequence that we must go forward too. Mr. Churchill gave a plain assurance that the Prime Minister and his colleagues "without exception are resolved to maintain the naval supremacy which this country enjoys." We welcome that statement and the spirit in which it is made. "If there is to be an increase on the Continent," said Mr. Churchill, "we should meet it not by words but by deeds. . . . We should not only increase the number of our ships, but also the ratio in which we stood to other Powers." This is a manly and plain-spoken intimation. There will be "no whining" in this country if it is carried out. The whole nation is behind Mr. Churchill when he speaks thus.

### Angry German Reception

A profound impression was created in Germany by Mr. Winston Churchill's speech. For the most part it met with an angry reception. In numerous quarters the speech was denounced as "arrogant," "impulsive," and "tactless," as "post-prandial exuberance," and as "provocative."

The pan-German Conservative "Post":

"We do not need to take Mr. Churchill's speech too tragically. He opened his mouth very wide, and said more than he can actually substantiate. On the whole we welcome the Glasgow speech, because it proves conclusively that every attempt

to bring about an armaments understanding would only be an attempt to reach a clumsy end by clumsy means."

### Cards on the Table

Count Reventlow, writing in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung":

"We do not think it particularly fortunate that Mr. Churchill should conclude his speech by addressing a threat to Germany. He will thereby hardly achieve anything but the exact contrary of what he hoped. Despite many clumsy allusions we discern a conciliatory tone in Mr. Churchill's speech, but before a naval understanding can be considered it will be necessary for England to lay her cards openly on the table as Germany has done for the past twelve years. We must know what England has in mind in the way of British armaments. When this has been told we shall be in a position to say whether Great Britain has anything to offer compatible with the political, economic, and military interests of the German Empire."

The "Post" remarked pleasantly that "perhaps Mr. Churchill's description of the German Fleet as a luxury is a variant on the *mot* attributed to King Edward about Germany's 'naval toy.' England has it in her power to put the capabilities of the German Fleet to the test at a distance usual nowadays—two and a half to four and a half miles."

February 14th.

### As the Germans See Us

(Charles E. Hands)

If the question were whether the average German harbours feelings of hostility and resentment against England, the answer would be a prompt and unmitigated "Yes." You are conscious of that feeling everywhere in Germany, even on the part of people who individually are showing you the most kindly courtesy. They resent the English commercial predominance and the English maritime predominance. Among the commercial and upper classes the feeling is general that England; in some mysterious, malevolent manner, stands in the way between them and their rights in the world. To a certain extent that resentment against England finds individual expression. Shopkeepers and their assistants, you sometimes notice, while not actually uncivil, will show a more brusque manner towards an English customer than to one of their own race. English residents in Germany complain of this at the present time. The English residents in every part of the country keep more to themselves nowadays than formerly. In consequence of it fewer English boys than formerly are being sent to Germany for educational purposes. The other day in Heidelberg I had a talk with an ordinary German business man. He was quite frank about it.

"England," he said, "does not understand that Germany has grown up into a big nation that must have a big fleet. We are a Great Power and a great commercial nation with a big trade all over the world, and we must have a big fleet and room to expand. But every time we move in any direction we find England and the English Fleet in the way. England is jealous of our growing commerce, of our growing power, that is why. We do not say to England that she shall not have a big fleet, but we do say that we must have, and will have, a fleet ourselves strong enough to enable us to speak our word in the world. How can England prevent us? Tell me that."

### Why Lord Haldane Went to Berlin

In the course of the debate on the opening of Parliament Mr. Asquith explained why Lord Haldane went to Berlin.

"Both the German Government and our own are animated by a sincere desire to bring about a better understanding, and in the course of last month we had an intimation that the visit of a British Minister to Berlin would not be unwelcome and might facilitate the advancement of our common object.

"Lord Haldane had in any case intended sooner or later to visit Germany on business connected with the London University Commission, and in the circumstances we thought it well that his visit should be hastened and that we should take advantage of it to communicate any friendly or confidential communications with those who were responsible for the direction and control of German policy. This involved a departure on both sides from the conventional method, but the negotiations were conducted with complete frankness of statement, and it was felt that it would be much easier to do this in the first instance if it were a question of informal and non-committal conversations rather than full-dress diplomatic negotiations.

"These anticipations have been completely realised. There was perfect freedom of statement and perfect frankness, the explanations covering a wide area of subjects; while the very fact of an interchange of views under such conditions ought to dispel suspicion, wherever it still prevails, that either Government contemplates aggressive designs against the other.

"I go further, and say that I genuinely believe that the conversations may have more than this merely academic result. At this stage I cannot make any prediction, but I may say this, that in the case of my noble friend's visit he saw unmistakable evidence of a sincere and resolute desire on both sides to establish a better footing between us,



though I wish to make it perfectly clear that on either side this would be without in any way sacrificing or impairing the special relationships in which each of us stands to one another and to other Powers. It is in that spirit, with the fresh light which the interchange of views has created, that both of us are now engaged in a careful survey of practical possibilities.

February 15th.

The German Imperial Chancellor, in the Reichstag, confirmed Mr. Asquith's statement, welcomed the "exchange of views," and hoped that they would be continued. Sedate gratification was expressed by German Liberal, Radical, and Socialist opinion, but the Anglophobe elements still maintained that suspicion and mistrust of England's aims should be Germany's watchword. Messrs. Krupp's "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten" talked of "the English facing-both-ways" and of British "bluff." "Die Post" adjured the nation to go on strengthening its armaments by land and sea. The "Taegliche Rundschau" asserted that "Germany is tired of words and awaits deeds." And in all those quarters it was still maintained, despite Mr. Asquith's categorical denial, that England planned to attack Germany in the previous summer

March 5th.

### England the Enemy

A Fresh German Press Campaign (Berlin Correspondent.)

"One of the most systematic and determined campaigns ever organised on behalf of naval expansion is now in full swing in Germany. Launched with a subtlety designed to arouse only the minimum of attention both at home and abroad, the campaign has risen to a crescendo of vehemence well calculated to serve its purpose—to mobilise public sentiment in favour of 'more Dreadnoughts' at a moment when the German naval programme is once more in the melting-pot.

"The fact that official negotiations are pending with a view to discovering a basis for an Anglo-German understanding has not deterred the naval agitators from resorting to reckless use—and abuse—of England for their purposes. Britain is universally pilloried as the 'inveterate foe.' The myth of the projected attack on Germany last summer 'without formal declaration of war' is insisted upon. Mr. Asquith's declarations to the contrary and Lord Haldane's assurances in Berlin are swept aside as perfidious deception. In countless leading articles, magazines, pamphlets, and in volumes from the pens of respected strategists, Germany is warned not to be bewitched by the siren song of friendship, but to prepare steadily and restlessly for the 'danger' which menaces the nation.

### Campaign Methods

"The methods by which the campaign is being carried on are familiar to all students of the processes which have preceded and accompanied German naval 'increases' in the past. In the first place, like practically all its predecessors, the crusade has been engineered on orderly, systematic, and thoroughgoing lines, which more than suggest a centralised directing agency. Facts and figures—more figures than acts—have been spread broadcast, which, in the language of the publishers of 'England's World Dominion and Germany's "Luxury" Fleet'—the book of the hour—'could only have been derived from sources not open to the general public.'"

"All the great propaganda forces have been in full eruption. 'Die Flotte,' the organ of the Navy League, fulminates from month to month concerning the 'war preparations of England against Germany' during the Moroccan negotiations. Count Reventlow is indefatigability personified. The armour-plate Press of Berlin, Hamburg, and Essen specialises in news and views designed to depict Britain as the stealthy enemy preaching peace and plotting war. The pamphleteers whom the Navy party is accustomed to bring up like reserves have been active for the past eight weeks. The great monthly reviews make a feature of articles on Germany in peril, and a great tactician launches three volumes on 'Germany's Next War.'"

March 6th.

### The Fire of Anglophobism

Mr. Churchill's speech was forthwith converted into fresh fuel to stoke the fire of Anglophobism already spread throughout the land. "Lookout" was summoned to produce the brochure, "England's World Dominion and the German 'Luxury' Fleet." Arrangements were made to circulate it on an unprecedented scale. It contained eight chapters—a pot pourri of abuse, "revelations," and warnings, ending with a chapter entitled "What We Want."

This is "Lookout's" peroration:

*"A land Power which is content to play a merely military and Continental rôle must sink inevitably into a state of political dwarfishness and disappear from the list of World Powers. In this realisation the entire German nation is now inspired by the once ridiculed slogan of the Kaiser about our future upon the water. Germany would find existence as England's satrap on the Continent intolerable. She looks forward, therefore, with clear eyes to the time when German manhood will show its prowess far out on the billowy deep. To the days of Fehrbellin and Sedan will then be added, should anybody ever again attempt to strangle*

us, a new day, which will be named after some bank or point or patch in the North Sea—a name as yet unknown to the landsman, but of which our grandchildren will learn to speak in accents of enthusiasm!"

"Lookout's" pamphlet had an unprecedented reception. In five days more than 7,000 copies were sold—a record for German political tracts. Hundreds of newspapers made copious extracts from it. "Everywhere," write the publishers, "the book is considered an answer to Mr. Churchill which springs from the bottom of the German heart."

### A Wry Face in Germany

The British Naval Estimates were received, as the "Daily Mail's" Berlin correspondent reported, with a "wry face" in Germany, whose attention centred largely upon the passage at the head of the estimates reading thus:

"These estimates have been framed on the assumption that the existing programmes of other naval Powers will not be increased. In the event of such increases, it will be necessary to present Supplementary Estimates, both for men and money."

Hostile comments again and accusations again appeared in most of the German Press. The "Lokal Anzeiger" said:

"The First Lord has only lifted a corner of the drapery, revealing to us a grim countenance which hisses threateningly. England wants peace and limited armaments, but if not strictly on her terms then we shall see England from another side. We hope Germany will understand this tone and be governed accordingly when the forthcoming Naval Bill is under discussion. Let England build the fleet she considers necessary for her requirements. We shall be the last to complain of that; and we shall do the same."

"Die Post":

"If Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg answers this impudent British bluff with the immediate publication of the new German Naval Bill in its original proportions he will to-morrow be the most popular man in Germany, especially if he accompanies it with a statement explanatory of the unbearable pressure we have silently suffered at the hands of England for years. That might mean war, but a settlement with England by force appears better and wiser than an endless armaments competition."

Undeterred by these threats Mr. Churchill (on March 18), in introducing the Naval Estimates, made a frank offer to Germany.

March 19th.

### MR. CHURCHILL'S OFFER

Extract from the "Daily Mail" Leader,  
March 19th

Mr. Churchill pointed out that the British programme must necessarily depend on the German

proposals. In present conditions, and so long as Germany does not exceed the programme laid down in the German Naval Act, the British Admiralty will maintain a superiority of 60 per cent. in battleships. That is to say, for each 10 German ships it will build 16, which is virtually 3 to 2, or the figure for which German opinion has been clamouring. But if the German programme is augmented, then the British Admiralty will lay down two additional keels for each additional one that Germany begins. On the other hand, Mr. Churchill made Germany this offer, that if she diminishes her programme, there will be a corresponding reduction in the British proposals.

That the British Navy must possess a "large margin of safety" was a strong point well made in Mr. Churchill's speech. That margin is necessary, he stated, for two reasons. In the first place, the British Navy must be prepared to meet the next strongest navy at any moment selected by that other navy. On the average, as he showed, some 25 per cent. of our ships would be unavailable, while the foreign navy which can select its hour for attack could place its entire force in line. We shall never attack, for reasons on which Mr. Churchill dwelt. Even if we suppose the British Government totally oblivious of moral considerations, it has nothing to gain by delivering a sudden blow, as it has no army to drive that blow home. A second reason for our "large margin of safety" is that our danger is greater. We depend on the sea for our food and our very existence. No other Power is in a similar position.

Mr. Churchill's programme makes clear to all the world that the British Government meditates no aggression. His proposals are for defence alone. But they are the very minimum that a prudent Minister could lay before the country; and he may be assured of the enthusiastic support of the nation against the dwindling Little Navy faction which would have England throw aside her armaments in an age which Mr. Churchill described as one of "violence and deep-seated unrest."

### Extracts from Mr. Churchill's Offer

"If Germany liked to drop out any one, or even two, of her annual quotas and keep the money in her own pocket for the employment of her own people and the development of her own property, we will at once, in the absence of dangerous development elsewhere, drop out our corresponding quota."

He put the supposition that we both take a holiday for a year. "The three ships that Germany did not build would automatically wipe out no fewer than five potential super-Dreadnoughts—more than they could hope to do in a brilliant naval engagement."



Mr. Churchill summed up this portion of his speech with the remark, "Germans will be no gainers in naval power by any increases they may make; and no losers from the basis I have laid down by any diminutions."

March 20th.

### The Wry Face Turns to An Angry Scowl

The "Daily Mail's" Berlin correspondent summarised the effect on Germany of Mr. Churchill's proposals as having converted a wry face into an angry scowl.

"Only in one or two quarters is there any semblance of an inclination to accept it as a basis for an understanding. Most of the commentators find the speech either 'arrogance,' or 'bluff,' and declare that it is unthinkable that Germany should be influenced by it to modify her naval plans one jot or tittle."

The "Cologne Gazette" scornfully rejects Mr. Churchill's suggestions, saying, "Germany will decide the question of increasing her fleet as England does, strictly from the standpoint of what she herself considers necessary in her own interests. It is improbable that Germany will ever possess a fleet equal to that of Great Britain, but if our fleet goes to the bottom the victory must cost the enemy such sacrifices that England would hardly have the means left for the adequate protection of her great international interests."

Count Reventlow, who finds Mr. Churchill's tone insufferable, dismisses the First Lord's arguments as "childish, laughable, and untenable, either from the military or political standpoint."

*Messrs. Krupp's local organ at Essen, the "Rheinisch Westfaelische Zeitung": "Let the authorities in Berlin not overlook the fear of us which his speech reveals."*

### "With Special Regard"

*The "Hamburger Nachrichten": "Mr. Churchill's speech is chiefly welcome because it definitely disposes of the useless and unworthy chatter of the possibility of a German-English naval understanding. We must continue to expand our sea forces with special regard to the possibility of war with England."*

"The German 'No,'" continued the Berlin correspondent next day, "is as firm and unyielding as it was on the day when Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg uttered it in the Reichstag a year ago."

"Die Post" (in a leading article that covered its entire front page) said: "Above all, let us not be lured by the suggestive suggestion that we should 'both take a holiday for a year.' That suggestion touches the very heart of the whole question for Germany. We must never, in any circumstances, permit England time to catch her breath, because we are now at the finish of the final struggle. We

are in the midst of such a duel with England that we would be the biggest fools in the world, and deserve the most miserable of fates, if we allowed her to gain a solitary advantage."

Mr. Churchill, in the meantime, made a further suggestion to Germany. "I wish," he said, "that I could bring myself to believe that a sudden act of restraint on our part" (referring to a Little Navy speech by Mr. Murray Macdonald) "would break the spell. I don't think it would."

He showed, however, how suspicion would be reduced by frankness, and referred to the negotiations which had been in progress for an exchange of naval information between this country and Germany.

"We shall be very glad if these negotiations reach a satisfactory conclusion."

"We have nothing whatever to conceal in the scale of our shipbuilding. We shall always be ready to allow it to be known what ships we are constructing, and within general limits when those ships shall be expected to be added, provided, of course, we receive reciprocal treatment."

"What we want to avoid, if possible, is the suspicion that vessels are being constructed apart from those which are shown in the regular published returns."

### A Significant Act

The Budget Committee of the German Reichstag passed a Bill further increasing the navy. Only the Socialists voted against the measure, and discussion lasted less than half an hour.

The significant effect of this Act was that it completely transformed the German position in the North Sea. The main points were:

An addition of £750,000 to the current year's estimates.

An addition of three Dreadnoughts to the programme fixed by the Navy Act of 1908.

Further additions in smaller vessels, personnel, and expenditure on aeroplanes and airships for naval use.

An increase of fifty per cent. in the High Sea Fleet, the force perpetually maintained in commission.

The "Daily Mail," publishing the details of these additions, maintained that the British Admiralty would now be compelled to give effect to Mr. Churchill's statement in the previous year, that the Naval Estimates had been framed on the assumption that the programmes of other naval Powers would not be increased.

It quoted, also, "the very serious contingencies" to which Mr. Lloyd George alluded when holding back six and a half millions of surplus in his Budget, and summed up, in a brief line:

"The 'very serious contingencies' are now facts."

## Mr. Balfour on Anglo-German Relations

### THE GERMAN NAVY Its Menace to Britain

An article of extraordinary importance was contributed by Mr. Balfour to the June number of the "Nord und Sud," a Berlin monthly magazine. The "Daily Mail" quoted from it in extenso, claiming that it was of the deepest interest, as neither Mr. Balfour nor any other British statesman of the first rank had ever before so directly discussed "the grave problems raised by the present German policy and the immense increase of the German Navy."

Mr. Balfour began by pointing out that he wished "to present the English point of view clearly and without offence" to German readers, and thus to mitigate evils due to want of mutual comprehension. He stated that "in a very real sense the deep uneasiness with which the people of this country contemplate possible developments of German policy throws its shadow across the whole country, irrespective of party or of creeds."

He then briefly summarised the relations of England and Germany in the more distant past, and paid a warm tribute to German work in art and philosophy. It is no want of gratitude to Germany for her brilliant services in these fields, he said, that has caused the change of British feeling.

"It is due to the interpretation which Englishmen have thought themselves obliged to place upon a series of facts, or supposed facts, each of which taken by itself might be of small moment, but which when taken together can neither be lightly treated nor calmly ignored."

The first of these facts was the German Navy Bill and its results.

### An Unthinkable War

"If Englishmen were sure that a German Fleet was only going to be used for defensive purposes—i.e., against aggression—they would not care how large it was; for a war of aggression against Germany is to them unthinkable.

"Putting on one side all considerations based on public morality, it must be remembered, in the first place, that we are a commercial nation, and war, whatever its issue, is ruinous to commerce and to the credit on which commerce depends. It must be remembered, in the second place, that we are a political nation, and an unprovoked war would shatter in a day the most powerful government and the most united party. It must be remembered, in the third place, that we are an insular nation, wholly dependent on sea-borne

supplies, possessing no considerable Army either for home defence or foreign service, and compelled, therefore, to play for very unequal stakes should Germany be our opponents in the hazardous game of war.

"It is this last consideration which I should earnestly ask enlightened Germans to weigh well, if they would understand the British point of view. It can be made clear in a very few sentences. There are two ways in which a hostile country can be crushed; it can be conquered or it can be starved. If Germany were masters in our home waters, she could apply both methods to Britain. Were Britain ten times master in the North Sea, she could apply neither method to Germany. Without a superior fleet Britain would no longer count as a Power. Without any fleet at all Germany would remain the greatest Power in Europe.

"It is, therefore, the mere instinct of self-preservation which obliges Englishmen, not merely to take account of the growth in foreign navies, but anxiously to weigh the motives of those who build them. If they are built solely for purposes of defence, Britain would not, indeed, be thereby relieved of the duty of maintaining the standard of relative strength required for national safety, but she would have no ground for disquiet, still less for ill-will.

"But does Germany make it easy for Britain to take this view? The external facts of the situation appear to be as follows: The greatest military Power and the second greatest naval Power in the world is adding both to her Army and to her Navy. She is increasing the strategic railways which lead to the frontier States—not merely to frontier States which themselves possess powerful armies, but to small States which can have no desire but to remain neutral if their formidable neighbours should unhappily become belligerents. She is in like manner modifying her naval arrangements so as to make her naval strength instantly effective . . ."

### "A Tremendous Instrument"

Mr. Balfour urged that a tremendous weapon had been forged, and every year added to its efficiency and power. "It is as formidable for purposes of aggression as for purposes of defence." He claimed that ordinary Englishmen did not believe in a contemplated attack by Germany on her neighbours, and expressed his own belief that the majority of German people had no wish to make that attack.

"The danger lies elsewhere. It lies in the co-existence of that marvellous instrument of warfare, the German Army and Navy, with the assiduous—



I had almost said the organised—advocacy of a policy which it seems impossible to reconcile with the peace of the world or the rights of nations. For those who accept this policy German development means German territorial expansion. All countries which hinder, though it be only in self-defence, the realisation of this ideal are regarded as hostile, and war, or the threat of war, is deemed the natural and fitting method by which the ideal itself is to be accomplished.

"If German students, anxious to re-draw the map of Europe in harmony with their conceptions of the distribution of the German race, regarded the German Empire of the twentieth century as heir-at-law of the Roman Empire of the twelfth, and assumed that Germany should be endowed, at the cost of other nations, with overseas dominions proportionate to her greatness in Europe, they could not ask Englishmen to approve."

Mr. Balfour continued with a reference to "the conviction, widely held by many Germans, that Britain stands in their country's light, that Englishmen desire to thwart her natural development, and are jealous of her legitimate growth. Of these crimes we are quite unconscious; but surely it is no slight evil that they should be so readily believed?" The conclusion of the article urged the danger of such convictions, and of the spread, in either country, of the belief that Great Britain and Germany were predestined enemies, and Mr. Balfour terminated with an appeal to Germany to teach the world that the appetite for domination belonged to an outworn phase of patriotism; that the furtherance of civilisation must be the joint work of many peoples, and that the task of none of them was lessened by the tremendous burden of armaments or the perpetual problem of self-defence.

May 24th.

#### A Cause for Distrust

As a statement of the English view of German armaments it comes very near to perfection. Laid before German readers, who seldom hear the English case, it can do nothing but good. They cannot be insensible to Mr. Balfour's arguments. Germany, as he shows, is forging a "tremendous weapon" in her vast Navy and concentrating an enormous fleet in the North Sea. Germans familiar with Bismarck's utterances and policy will not forget his anxiety when the Russian Government increased its forces in Poland by a couple of regiments or a battery. Can they feel surprised that the British Admiralty has been driven by the long series of German Navy Acts to take defensive precautions in the North Sea?

The vast scale of the German armaments would suffice in itself to explain uneasiness. But as an additional complication comes the fact that in recent

years a number of Germans of European reputation, men such as General Bernhardt and Professor Oncken, have preached the necessity of war with England and the destruction of the balance of power in Europe. Numerous efforts on our part to prove our desire for peace have failed. Between 1905 and 1908 we heavily reduced our Navy. What was the instant result? In 1906 and 1908 two Navy Acts were passed by the German Reichstag, more than doubling the strength of the German Fleet. This year, again, a reduction in the British naval expenditure was effected, with the immediate consequence that Germany passed yet another Navy Act, increasing her permanently commissioned force in the North Sea from 21 to 33 armoured ships. *In this country we desire peace; we all wish to live on good terms with Germany.* But if there is to be a "detente" two things are necessary—that the German Government should be ready to treat France as a friend and should cease its present policy of inordinate armaments which fills the pacific States of Europe with concern.

And on May 27th:

When Mr. Balfour dwelt on the aggressive tendency which shows itself in German policy he spoke by the book. Only a few weeks have passed since General Bernhardt, a Prussian soldier of European reputation and no mere wild "Jingo," pronounced the peace movement to be "poisonous," asserted the German "right of conquest," declared that "might is right," and ridiculed the idea of respecting Belgian neutrality.

*No one in this country entertains ill-feeling towards Germany. But the people of England are gradually arriving at the conclusion that there is ill-will in Germany towards this country, and signs of it are manifesting themselves in all directions in the Fatherland. An atmosphere of artificial suspicion has been manufactured among the German people. The false assertion that the British Fleet planned last year a treacherous attack on the German Navy is now known by Herr Hausemann's disclosures to have proceeded from the German Admiralty; and upon the sea of Anglophobia thus created the new Navy Act, with its prodigious increase in the strength of the German High Sea Fleet, has been floated. Yet it is clear that England has no imaginable motive for attacking Germany. She is only anxious to guard herself against an attack which is almost daily canvassed in the German Press.*

#### The Candid German Answer

To the frank and moderate statement of the case of England by Mr. Balfour, Germany, in the person of her famous publicist, Dr. Delbrück, returned a no less candid answer.

In an interview with Dr. Delbrück by the Berlin correspondent of the "Daily Mail," all the old

German charges against England were revived with increased bitterness. The chief of those charges was that Germany alone had not shared in the partition of the world by other great Powers, and that England and other Powers still refused to recognise the natural demands of Germany for full equality in world politics. The Morocco affair was instanced, "when England supported France in order to reduce our compensation demands to a minimum, instead of recognising their legitimacy and assisting to induce France to meet us in an appropriate manner. Germany's natural answer has been again considerably to strengthen both her Army and Navy.

"Mr. Balfour repeats in his letter that Germany must not expect Englishmen to approve of her intentions in the direction of territorial acquisition. What remains then for us except to enforce the accomplishment of our purposes by increased armaments."

But the most interesting part of the interview was Dr. Delbrück's disclaimer of German aggressive ambitions in words that recoil on himself, and millions of other Germans, in 1914.

"Mr. Balfour himself intimates that the tendencies he fears in Germany would bring about a constellation such as came to pass under Napoleon. Quite right, but what an end Napoleon suffered! Does Mr. Balfour think there could ever be a responsible German statesman or German Reichstag so idiotic as not to see that the German Empire would inevitably crumble as France did under Napoleon if it attempted a similar policy? The German Empire is very powerful to-day, but in comparison with other Powers is not nearly so strong as Napoleon was. Nevertheless, he finally succumbed when all the others united against him. Germany would experience the same fate if she committed herself to the inconceivable venture of increasing the pre-dominance she already wields on the European Continent by the annexation of other territory. Anybody who credits Germany with such plans is from the very start so blinded with passionate suspicion that sensible discussion hardly appears possible."

The speaker ended by declaring that he saw a "rising danger of war" in this English suspicion of Germany.

A leading article declared that these views, coming from a man of Professor Delbrück's eminence and influence, would come as a shock to the people of Great Britain.

### The Growing Perfection of Aircraft

On June 20th the "Daily Mail" returned to the new menace of the air:

The British people have to face the facts. They must begin to realise that something more

than a small Army and a strong Navy is necessary for their security. Even now it is possible for an enemy to arrive by another route than the sea—by using the air—and from this element to strike heavy blows at vulnerable points such as dockyards and magazines. Aircraft are as yet only in their infancy. Less than ten years have elapsed since practical flying was first achieved with an aeroplane. But the profound influence of the new arm, the new service, as it should more correctly be called, is already felt, and, given a few years more of such progress as that of the immediate past, it may be the controlling factor in war. Battles, as Colonel Ross has pointed out in his remarkable study of the Russo-Japanese campaign, will hereafter be fought out not on one plane but on many planes, for there is nothing to limit the height to which aircraft may ascend. Can we feel that this country and its Government are taking adequate precautions against that day when the total expenditure of both Army and Navy upon the new arm falls short of £350,000, or one-fourth the sum that France is spending? The command of the air is fast becoming as vital a question for us as the command of the sea. Yet we are doing nothing worth considering to secure it.

On June 28th it received (Berlin Correspondent) an account of a remarkable 250 miles cruise by a Zeppelin airship over the North Sea:

The cruise lasted about ten hours, and the vessel, besides her regular crew, carried ten passengers.

The airship left Hamburg at 6.15 this morning, and flew over Cuxhaven to Heligoland, which was reached at 9.30. From Heligoland the airship turned south-west to Nordeney and Borkum, and then inland, via Wilhelmshaven and Bremerhaven, back to Hamburg.

During her cruise the airship held directly over the liner *Amerika* for a considerable distance. She also cruised over Heligoland and Nordeney, dropping paper bombs upon the fortresses.

And again (July 15th) the report of a long and successful night voyage of the same airship:

Starting from Hamburg at 12.13 a.m. on Saturday morning, the *Victoria Louise* passed over Kiel and then put out to the open sea to the Danish island of Moen and back along the Mecklenburg coast to Hamburg, which was reached at 9.45 a.m. The total distance covered was 343 miles, of which 125 miles were over the open sea. The night was clear but moonless. An exact course was kept by compass. No searchlights were carried, though the cabin



and engine cars were brilliantly lighted by electricity. The Government, it is stated, propose to spend £25,000 out of the credit of £100,000 voted two months ago by the Reichstag in the purchase of this air-cruiser.

On September 20th it recorded a record-breaking flight of another machine, the Hansa, of 375 miles in twelve hours.

The return course from Hamburg was across the southern coast of Sweden, whence the vessel steered straight across the Baltic for Germany. The Hansa, during part of the return journey, travelled at seventy-five miles an hour.

June 29th.

**LORD HALDANE AGAIN—THE KAISER'S LOVE OF PEACE—"HALF AN ENGLISH-MAN"**

**One of Many Astounding Speeches**

Lord Haldane delivered a fervent eulogy of the German Emperor at the sixty-seventh anniversary dinner of the German Hospital in Dalston, held at the Savoy Hotel. He said he spoke of one whom we admired in this country and regarded as one of ourselves.

"He knows our language and our institutions as we do, and he speaks as we do.

"The German Emperor is something more than an emperor—he is a man, and a great man. He is gifted by the gods with the highest gift that they can give—I use a German word to express it—Geist [spirit]. He has got Geist in the highest degree. He has been a true leader of his people—a leader in spirit as well as in deed. He has guided them through nearly a quarter of a century, and preserved unbroken peace. I know no record of which a monarch has better cause to be proud. In every direction his activities have been remarkable.

"He has given his country that splendid fleet that we who know about fleets admire; he has preserved the tradition of the greatest army the world has ever seen, but it is in the arts of peace that he has been equally great. He has been the leader of his people in education and in the solution of great social questions.

"That is a great record, and it makes one feel a sense of rejoicing that the man who is associated with these things should be half an Englishman. I have the feeling very strongly that in the last

few years Germany and England have become much more like each other than they used to be. It is because we have got so much like each other that a certain element of rivalry comes in.

"We two nations have a great common task in the world—to make the world better. It is because the German Emperor, I know, shares that conviction profoundly that it gives me the greatest pleasure to give you the toast of his name. Into the face of things there always come elements of difficulty—the Ambassador knows it and I know it. But we live in a time that ought to fill us with hope, and one of the things that fills me with hope is that the Sovereigns on the various thrones have the cause of peace and the cause of development at heart, each one as much as the other."

Among those present were Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the German Ambassador, and representatives of the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Ambassadors.

**WORDS OR DEEDS?**

**The Naval Crisis of 1912**

Another grave crisis in the naval policy of the country arose when Mr. Churchill (on July 22nd) rose to outline the measures which the Government proposed to provide a fleet for the Mediterranean and to cope with the new German Navy Act.

There had been strong rumours that while the Government were prepared to accept the principle that our supremacy should be maintained, it did not intend to carry out that principle in acts. The Supplementary Estimates, issued the previous day, lent support to that rumour. The politicians had spoken with two voices. The "Suicide Club" (the Navy's name for the Little Navy party) had been assured that more ships would not be laid down, and, on the other hand, those who realised the paramount importance of a strong fleet had been told that they need have no fear.

July 23rd.

The speech of Mr. Churchill may be summarised in the heading of a "Daily Mail's" leader next day, "Words, but no ships," which expressed the unappeasement of public anxiety. "The country has been looking for action, which means building ships. Instead of action, it has once more been put off with words. . . ."

"It is not as though the menace in the North Sea has diminished since March. On the contrary, the first part of his speech was devoted to showing the

extreme gravity and importance of the new German Navy Act. He stated that under that Act Germany will maintain four-fifths of her fast-growing fleet fully manned and in instant readiness to deal a tremendous blow. To illustrate the formidable character of that force, he reminded the House of Commons that it will be as numerous as the splendid fleet assembled at Spithead and far superior in actual strength.

"We confess to a feeling of intense disappointment at the speech, if only because it is so entirely in contrast with Mr. Churchill's previous promises. At Glasgow he declared:

"The whole fortunes of our race and Empire, the whole treasure accumulated during so many centuries of sacrifice and achievement, would perish and be swept utterly away if our naval supremacy were to be impaired. . . . As naval competition becomes more acute we shall have not only to increase the number of the ships we build, but also the ratio which our naval strength will have to bear to other great naval Powers, so that our margin of superiority will become larger and not smaller as the strain grows greater."

*"So far as Mr. Churchill and the Government are concerned, their attitude must be summed up in the American phrase, 'Nothin' doin'!' Their policy is words, not ships, in an hour of grave national danger."*

"THIS NOBLE FORCE, THIS BRITISH NAVY, ON WHICH, IN THE GREAT-HEARTED WORDS OF THE ELIZABETHAN, 'UNDER THE GOOD PROVIDENCE OF GOD, THE WEALTH, SAFETY, AND STRENGTH OF THE KINGDOM CHIEFLY DEPEND,' IS TO-DAY, AS IN THE HEROIC PAST, OUR GREATEST SCHOOL OF LOYALTY, PATRIOTISM, AND DUTY, THOSE FORCES THE WAXING OR WANING STRENGTH OF WHICH MAKES NATIONS GREAT OR BRINGS THEM DOWN IN RUIN."

(Terminating words of "Daily Mail" leading article on Spithead Naval Pageant, July 9th, 1912.)

October 1st.

### German Efficiency

"The endurance of the German infantryman, as demonstrated at these manœuvres, is nothing short of remarkable. Take this typical instance. At 11 p.m. on the 11th Blue's infantry started on a 31-mile march through the night. They attacked and fought in the morning and throughout the day with varying success. At the end of the day they withdrew for the night, attacked at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 13th, and fought until 11 a.m. For the first time in several series of 'Kaiser Manœuvres,' of which I have personal knowledge, some foot-sore men were seen, but probably not more than

eight or ten out of a whole division. The infantry attacked well and with initiative and dash.

"Supply, the least picturesque, but in the last analysis the vital constituent of a fighting organism, was revealed afresh as one of the most inconspicuous but most efficient departments of the German Army.

*"Another innovation was the employment of auto-omnibuses for troop-transport. The surprise arrival of a heavy detachment of riflemen, who were rushed up in omnibuses, proved the decisive factor in a certain engagement—an experience which demonstrated the rashness of cavalry attacking infantry in position. Motor-cars, motor-cycles, and motor-trucks were used to an unprecedentedly large degree."*

October 1st.

### A FRANK OPINION OF THE GERMAN ARMY The World's Model Organisation

Under this title the "Daily Mail" devoted a column on its leading page (written by a "Foreign Military Observer"), which was intended as a further warning of the immense and systematic military organisation of Germany. These are quotations from the article, which was based upon observation of the German manœuvres:

"Certainly in all that concerns leadership, the handling of large bodies of troops spread over a county-broad area, mobility, and the other great features of Kriegspiel, the operations in Saxony confirmed the impression that the German army is eminently well trained, hard-working, and earnest, and that its command is in the hands of capable men.

"It may be said at once that the work of the military aircraft was of first-rate order. As far as was ascertainable, disaster overtook only one aeroplane of all the craft engaged. The scouting on both sides was so efficiently done that each army was compelled to resort to an extraordinary amount of night-work in order to screen its movements and tactical operations. Never before has it been brought home so vividly to my mind that the armies of the future will be compelled to march and fight under cover of darkness to a degree hitherto unexperienced in the annals of war.

"For far reconnaissance, cavalry and aeroplanes co-operated for the first time in German manœuvres—a noteworthy step in the effective use of aircraft. There were innumerable occasions when both armies had reliable knowledge of the movement and dispositions of the enemy many hours, or even a whole day, in advance of what would have been the case if cavalry scouting only had been relied upon. Zeppelin III. was omnipresent, literally, and ren-



dered incalculably valuable service to Blue. There seemed hardly a moment during the operations when Zeppelin III. was not hovering at a safe altitude over some Red position or returning to its headquarters with priceless intelligence. Aeroplanes did not limit their work to scouting, but proved great and reliable time-savers in the carrying of communications between far-separated divisions. . . ."

October.

### FRESH ANTI-BRITISH FURY

The middle of October witnessed another campaign of almost unprecedented ferocity of the newspapers of the pan-German and War parties, who led their readers to believe that Great Britain was engaged in a diabolical attempt to ferment a European conflagration.

The campaign became such a scandal that the German Government was forced to take cognisance of it. Through the "Cologne Gazette," the Foreign Office rebuked the excesses of the War party, but the simple statement that "it is going too far" to hold Britain responsible for the war in the Balkans was but a feeble rebuke to such remarks as the following:

The Munich "Neueste Nachrichten" (often the mouthpiece for official utterances):

"Ostensibly pro-Turkish, the attitude of the British Government during the peace efforts of the Powers is one of the most impudent and transparent 'bluffs' England has ever made. The British Government knew perfectly well it thereby only promoted war. It is war and not peace in the Balkans which will further British interests in the Near East."

The "Rheinische Westfaelische Zeitung," of Essen (the local organ of Messrs. Krupp):

"A strong Turkey is extremely dangerous to England, which must reckon that Turkey would exploit an Anglo-German war to drive the English out of Egypt."

"Die Post" (the official organ of the War party which led the campaign):

"It is becoming clearer hour by hour that everything has been arranged in one central quarter, and how deliberately English diplomacy has gone to work to accomplish its ends. The secret threads of the Balkan crisis have been spun in London. Germany has urgent need to be on her guard and to close up without delay the various gaps in her military preparedness."

These universal expressions of German sentiment scarcely coincided with the declarations devoutly expressed by Prince Lichnowsky, newly appointed the German Ambassador to Great Britain, in an interview with the Berlin correspondent of the "Daily Mail" (October 19th):

"We do not cherish the slightest desire or inten-

tion of disputing Great Britain's mastery of the seas. You are an island people, and a supreme Fleet is, as you claim, a life or death question for you."

### The Growing Shadow of 1914

In November and December, 1912, was enacted the penultimate chapter of the Austro-Servian-Russian imbroglio that Germany eventually seized upon as her excuse for the great European war of 1914.

Almost insoluble antagonisms developed over the Balkan peace and the rearrangement of the Balkan territories, and a crisis arose between Russia and Austria. Austrian troops were concentrated near the Russian and the Servian frontiers. The immediate cause of the crisis was the Austrian demand that Servia should evacuate Albania and abandon her claim to acquire a port on the Adriatic.

It was believed in Vienna that Russia was encouraging Servia in her claim, and it was reported that Russia was proceeding to the mobilisation of twenty-four army corps.

The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne (assassinated in June, 1914), came on a momentous mission to Germany, and the "Reichpost," whose political news was deemed exceptionally authentic, made the announcement that the Triple Alliance was closer than ever before, and that in Eastern affairs the three Allies would "march in serried line."

The "Reichpost" proceeded to say that common sittings had been held of representatives of all the Imperial German Ministers and of the Prussian Ministry.

"As a result it has become apparent that, general as the wish is to maintain peace, preparations for every eventuality are fully made, so that all surprises are guarded against.

"It may be stated that as the intensive work of the War Office and the Admiralty has borne very good fruit, General von Heeringen and Admiral von Tirpitz, the Ministers of War and Marine, had occasion to show that they had done their duty.

### In Serried Line

"The Archduke Francis Ferdinand will certainly return to Vienna with the conviction that Austria is supported by Germany's most loyal friendship, and that, as the Triple Alliance is firmer than ever before, the three allies will march in serried line in Eastern affairs, and primarily in the Adriatic and Rumanian questions.

"This represents a power which it is simply impossible to outvote."

The "Reichpost's" statement concludes:

"In the deliberations at Springe the Archduke at any rate realised how truly these words corres-

pond to the inmost sentiments of the leading circles in Germany. The military discussions—which reckon with eventualities that it is to be hoped will not occur—will have convinced the Archduke that the German Army and Navy are ready at the will of their supreme War Lord, if needs be, to place themselves in their full strength by the side of their Austrian friend.”

The pan-German Press, going further, directly threatened Russia with another glimpse of the Kaiser in the “shining armour” with which he coerced her into surrender on the Bosnian annexation in 1909.

November 25th.

The leading article of the “Daily Mail” on November 25th was sufficient confutation of those writers and speakers, in both England and Germany, who accused it of a hostile policy against Germany and her allies.

#### **Nothing that Would Justify a War**

There is no visible cause for war at this moment. The attitude of Germany, as it is said to have been stated to the Archduke Francis Ferdinand during his visit to Berlin, gives every hope that peace will be preserved. The German Government, according to our Berlin correspondent, is believed to have told the Archduke that it does not wish to go to war, and that it does not consider any situation has arisen which would justify a war, but that Germany will give her ally unflinching support in the event of any attack by Serbia and Russia on Austrian territory.

We entirely agree with the German Government. There is nothing in the situation which would justify war. The Austrian position is set forth in a noteworthy article entitled ‘What Austria Wants,’ which we publish to-day, and which we believe to be an authoritative expression of Austrian opinion. Austria will not permit Serbia to acquire a seaport on the Adriatic. She requires Serbia to respect Albanian independence. But Serbia may find an outlet to the sea in any other direction without wounding Austrian susceptibilities. In fairness to Austria it should be remembered that she has already made remarkable concessions. She has shown her willingness to abandon the Sanjak of Novibazar to the Servians and Montenegrins. She has abandoned her dream of an Austrian advance through Macedonia to Salonica. Serbia has already made vast gains by the war. To persist in her claim to an Adriatic port in the face of Austrian hostility would be to risk all that she has won. There should here be material for a transaction, as *the idea of a great European conflict over the question whether Serbia shall obtain a ‘window’ on the Adriatic with a ‘corridor’ leading to it will not appeal to sane and balanced statesmen. A European conflict on such an issue would be a blunder and a crime.*

#### **Lord Roberts and Universal Service**

Lord Roberts continued his patriotic work of attempting to arouse the nation to the grave peril of its military weakness, and in this further campaign the “Daily Mail” supported him with constantly renewed appeals and warnings to the country.

In a leading article (September 24th) it was pointed out that the people of Australia and New Zealand had accepted a form of National Service because their statesmen honestly told them it was essential for their security.

“Is the need in Britain less? Excellent as the British Army is in quality it is pitifully small in quantity. Its organised expeditionary force of trained men does not exceed 158,000 troops, and cuts a very indifferent figure beside the 1,250,000 of the German field army, the 800,000 of the Austrians, or the 500,000 of the Italian. For home defence, in addition to some odds and ends of Regular troops, we have only the Special Reserve and the 270,000 Territorials, who cannot take the field until they have received six months’ training.

“Lord Roberts showed that, with the open formations necessary in modern war, the highest degree of training is essential. So long as the supremacy of the British Navy was beyond all possibility of challenge, there may have been no urgent need for a strong army for home defence. But in recent years British superiority at sea has been grievously shaken. In the recent naval manœuvres, as Lord Roberts stated, the possibility of landing a large force on our shores, in the face of a superior fleet, was demonstrated. *A strong Army at home would free the Fleet from all need of guarding against such a deadly blow, would render invasion out of the question, and would add immeasurably to the chances of peace. Yet, because with voluntary service it is impossible to obtain the number of men required, or to give them the training without which they will be useless in war, we continue weak and thereby invite attack.*”

And on November 27th.

#### **Collective Responsibility**

The young manhood of this country cannot be condemned for reluctance to answer an appeal which has never been made. Men grow more and more unwilling to serve in the Territorials because they see that the force imposes an inequitable burden. We cannot expect wholesale altruism except under the stimulus of national compulsion. Englishmen will give themselves freely enough for national military service when they know they are joining in a collective undertaking. They will not volunteer for duties which become steadily more exacting while they see that their less zealous brethren can spend their short holidays in pleasant enjoyment at the seaside. Thousands of Bulgarians have willingly laid down their lives for their country during the



last few weeks. Their martial ardour was not less exalted, their eagerness to get to grips with the enemy was not less keen, because they marched forth in compulsory service. They welcomed the mandates which drew in all the waverers and knit the whole nation in bonds of brotherhood. Until a Government has tried to pass a measure for national military service and been rejected at the polls in consequence, we have no right to brand the working men of Great Britain with unwillingness to shoulder arms in their country's cause. When such a measure is submitted, we have no fear about the response; but the instinct of the nation rebels against service in a makeshift and badly trained force. Meanwhile, if blame must be given, let us place it fairly on the shoulders of the leaders who fear to lead."

And again, November 28th.

"We have asked for our politicians to give a clear lead in a matter which is vital to the nation. Not one of them but feels in his heart that Lord Roberts speaks the truth. Not one of them but is aware of the grave weakness of the Territorial Force. Not one of them but knows that at any moment the position of Great Britain may be challenged, or understands that weakness must invite attack by the strong. The real question is not whether we are to have universal service, for come it must, but whether we are to accept Colonel Seely's policy and wait for disaster before introducing it, meantime contenting ourselves with a weapon which is almost as futile as the Chinese cannon of painted wood. *Is there no man in the Ministry with courage to stand*

*out, tell the nation the truth, and call upon it to give its answer before reform is too late?"*

December 24th.

#### THE WRITING ON THE WALL

Extract from an article by Twells Brex.

"Only those who make the most urgent preparations for war can hope to avoid it. Until Europe breaks away from her madhouse chains one nation alone cannot doff armour, saying, 'For my part there shall be no more war.'

"Unless we British (who want nothing but peace) without delay train all our manhood for war, we hold as doomed an Empire as Spain's, perhaps even as doomed a homeland as Poland or Lorraine. *This thing is as certain as the coming of the seasons—we all know it—our writing is large and fateful on the wall of Time. For War hungrily watches ours, the unravished land—rich forage for his red banquet. He is crouching on land, scouting the seas, even winging his spies through the air in the secret night! Are we so in love with war that we do nothing to avert it?*

"Not thus will wars be for ever ended by crying to rivals, 'You and I together could have made all the world put away their weapons—you and I in the forefront of humanity! What could we not have done if we had stood together?'

"We must arm—arm for five years; and then we can step out alone for humanity. 'In our one hand is *this sword*—in our other hand is our pact of brotherhood for the world's eternal court of arbitration. Which will you have?'"

## 1913

## THE AEROPLANE

Yet again, on February 17th, 1913, the "Daily Mail" hammered at the increasing importance of the airship and the aeroplane.

If there were not many precedents it would be an astounding thing that our insular imagination has not yet grasped at all the profound difference that the coming of the airship and the aeroplane have made in the relation of nations. Germany at the present moment possesses more than twenty dirigible airships, mostly of the Zeppelin type, which have a speed of fifty miles an hour, which are armed with guns of small calibre, which can travel out of shot-range, which can carry provisions for several days and a great weight of explosives. More than this, the Germans intend to increase their fleet yearly by the addition of a number of airships of another type. This vast superiority of the Germans is alarming the French. In a recent number of "Le Temps," General de Lacroix laments the inferiority of France both in quantity and quality, and points out with military precision the actual and moral effect which these great ships of the air would quite certainly exert in war, whether by land or sea.

France is conscious of her inferiority, though she possesses an incomparable fleet of 500 aeroplanes in compensation for her deficiency of airships. If France realises her deficiency, what ought our mental state to be? Those who go to Olympia, which among any imaginative people would be crowded, will see satisfactory proof of the capacity of English firms to build as good aeroplanes as any nation can build. But those who have seen the Zeppelins will scarcely note without something like shame the exhibit of the War Office airship Delta, a pretty enough ship, but a toy. We possess in England just three airships, of which the Delta, which is the best, is to a Zeppelin very much what a torpedo-destroyer is to a Dreadnought.

*A factory capable of building airships, and sums of money adequate to provide a fleet, are absolute, urgent necessities of the moment, over and above the grant for aeroplanes. A Government has before now been turned out for a slight deficiency in the supply of cordite. We have here a deficiency which, once exposed, no Government ought to be allowed by public opinion to permit for a moment longer. It is a crime against patriotism to have permitted it at all.*

February 25th.

## The German Air-Fleet

The "Daily Mail's" Berlin correspondent sent details of the trials of the newest German army airship. This vessel covered a distance of 500 miles

at a speed of 40 miles an hour, maintaining touch by wireless telegraphy throughout with Karlsruhe.

The new ship was believed to be similar to L1, a recent German naval airship, which is 525ft. long, 50ft. in diameter, 770,000 cubic feet in capacity, with engines of over 500 horse-power, and a maximum speed of 50 miles an hour. She can remain aloft for 60 hours, and can carry five tons of explosives.

The new Army Zeppelin airship (known as Ersatz Z1) executed an interesting all-night practice flight across Western Germany, Baden, and Bavaria on Saturday night.

The flight, which was a non-stop cruise lasting 12½ hours, was undertaken with a full military crew of officers and men for the purpose of testing the vessel's wireless apparatus. The latter worked faultlessly, and enabled the vessel to keep in touch throughout the flight with the military station at Karlsruhe.

The maximum distance at which communication was maintained was 150 miles.

The total distance of 500 miles was covered at an average speed of 40 miles an hour.

In answer to a question in Parliament, Colonel Seely stated, on February 12th, that the fleet of airships owned by the German Government stood as follows at the close of 1912 :

	Cubic Ft.		Cubic Ft.
One of .. ..	63,569	One of .. ..	516,495
One of .. ..	141,267	Two of .. ..	635,688
One of .. ..	183,646	One of .. ..	688,662
One of .. ..	282,528	One of .. ..	776,600
One of .. ..	353,160	One of dimensions un-	
One of .. ..	423,792	known.	

The number of more important privately owned airships was ten, it was reported, but the dimensions of them were not available.

Since December, 1912, further German airships have been completed.

## British Comparison

In mortifying contrast to the above figures were the particulars he gave of the British airship fleet :

Beta .. .. .	33,000	cubic feet
Gamma .. .. .	75,000	" "
Delta .. .. .	180,000	" "

## Why Germany Builds

On February 26th, 1913, Mr. Norman Angell, who had just returned from a tour in Germany, contributed to the "Daily Mail" a captivating article which embodied the reply of a German friend to the question, "Why Germany Builds?"



Mr. Norman Angell's German friend (apparently no less eloquent a special pleader than Mr. Norman Angell himself) contended throughout that Germany's armaments were solely directed against the constantly menaced revenge of France and the increasing power of "barbaric" Russia.

### The German Explanation

"Of course, you cannot conceive, no man can conceive, what the destruction of ten million human beings mean. Yet by that number of beings was the population of Germany decreased during these wars [the Napoleonic wars]. A State as populous as England when Queen Victoria came to the throne was in one war reduced to the population of Holland. What have you to compare with this, to set beside it? When, indeed, have you had to watch vast, uncounted multitudes of young women and children driven forth homeless, their corpses massed in the country roads, with grass in their mouths, the only food that the invader left? And these same invaders, who have poured in devastating floods over our land to-day, boast that again they will invade us if and when they can. I say 'boast.' Can you find me one French public man who will say that France should abandon the hope of attacking us? It is declared their overt policy.

"And that is only half the story, the danger of one side of us only. On our other side we have 160,000,000 of semi-barbaric people, of whom not more than one-eighth can read or write. The Chinese have a larger proportion of literates than these Russians. And these, our immediate neighbours, are governed on absolutist methods by a reactionary bureaucracy frankly militarist. It is a country in which public interest means the interest of an autocratic caste. Do you believe that such a State, whose frontier abuts directly on ours, is no danger?

### Russian "Barbarians"

"What is all this talk of the 'new France,' of which we hear, but the revival of old France, of all that Napoleon meant, 'the Great Shadow,' as one of your own writers has called him? It is you who have revived the old spectre of the *guerre de revanche*, which was nearly laid a year or two ago, and would have disappeared but for your encouragement. The successors of the Napoleons are now talking, as you are now talking, of this 'expeditionary force' to the Continent. But an English expeditionary force to the Continent means a force against Germany. Against whom else would you use it? And so, with these 160,000,000 barbarians on our right, and our ancient military enemy (who also talks of using the black troops of his African Empire against us) on our left—both peoples who have invaded us and destroyed our homes—you are now to add an invasion from another quarter.

What do you expect us to do? Stand and wait supinely for it to come to us; watch the hordes of invaders, the old invaders and the new prospective ones, increase?

"My friend, the reply to an English expeditionary force is a German Navy. We must try to prevent that force reaching our shores or the shores of our enemy, your ally. That is why we build."

Feb. 28th.

### A Reply to Mr. Norman Angell

The "Daily Mail" published two days later a reply to Mr. Norman Angell by Mr. H. W. Wilson.

Mr. Wilson, "in the interests of history and truth, and for the very safety of the British Empire," subjected the German explanation of "Why Germany Builds" to a searching and shattering criticism.

He pointed out that Germany began the creation of her enormous fleet—by the famous German Navy Act in 1900, during the most critical part of the Boer War—four years anterior to the Anglo-French agreement which Mr. Norman Angell's German friend alleged as the provocation of German Fleet construction.

"The Naval Act in its preamble laid down that Germany must have a fleet of such strength that, even for the greatest naval Power, a war with her would involve such risks as to imperil its own supremacy.

"The Act was taken by the world as a challenge to Britain. It compelled the British Government at once to abandon its policy of isolation, for it was accompanied by a declaration from the German Emperor that 'the trident must be in our fist.' The British alliance with Japan, the Entente with France, the understanding with Russia, followed. These things were not the causes but the consequences of the sudden decision of Germany to create an immense navy. Mr. Angell's German friend has reversed the sequence of events. The British Empire was guilty of the supreme offence of attempting to protect itself against attack."

Mr. Wilson proceeded to ask what we had done to provoke or annoy Germany.

"For whole decades British policy was deferential to Germany. To Germany we surrendered Heligoland. We made way for her in Africa, in Oceania, in China, where; in the affair of the now forgotten 'Yangtze Treaty,' we were treated by German statesmen with scant regard. It is not correct to allege that Britain obstructed her in the acquisition of a colonial Empire. Germany obtained Togoland, the Kameruns, South-West Africa, East Africa, a large slice of Papua, and an archipelago in the Pacific.

"We have to face the fact, which Mr. Angell's

informant has studiously ignored, that Germany, in the words of Professor Delbrück, is a *Kriegsstaat*, a nation organised for war.

### Past Menaces of War

"We are told by Mr. Angell's friend that she has not made war for forty years. That is true. But, unfortunately, she has threatened it repeatedly in the immediate past. Moltke and Bismarck were anxious to complete the destruction of France by a fresh war in 1874, and again in 1875. They were deterred because immediately Russia and Britain ranged themselves on the side of France, and announced that an unprovoked attack upon her would be resisted by them. Yet Professor Lamprecht regrets that his countrymen did not strike France down on that occasion. Again, in the Delcassé crisis of 1905, Germany suddenly threatened France with attack, and only withdrew her threats because Britain and Russia promised France support against any aggression. In 1908, over the Casablanca affair, Germany once more threatened war against France; in 1909 the 'armed Michael' menaced Russia with the invasion of Poland; in 1911 for three months Europe was kept on the verge of war by the apparition of the Panther at Agadir. These are incidents which do not reveal such an excessive devotion to peace on the part of Germany and her rulers as Mr. Angell's friend suggests.

"We should like to believe that Germany cherishes no hostility to Britain. But the Kaiser, in the famous interview which appeared in 1908, declared:

*"The prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes of my own people is not friendly to England."*

"Treitschke, the great German historian, writing a generation ago, stated that the 'settlement' with England 'must come,' and would be 'the hardest and the last.' That brilliant journalist Maximilian Harden has repeated in his 'Zukunft,' week-after week, *'ceterum censeo Karthaginem esse delendam'* ('I hold that Carthage must be wiped out'). Again, General Bernhardt, no ignorant firebrand, but the most capable of German military critics, has recently declared war with England inevitable. He admits, be it noted, that before the immense increase in the German Navy no one in England ever dreamed of war with Germany. And thus incidentally he demolishes Mr. Angell's informant's case.

### The Real Spirit in France

"We 'have revived the spectre of the *guerre de revanche*,' says this informant. Nothing could be more fundamentally untrue. France is a nation of 39 millions; Germany of 67 millions. The odds against France are such that no French Government will ever dream of a 'war of revenge.' What occupies the entire attention of France is the task

of protecting herself against the possibility of a sudden German attack, and Germany would be in a position to deliver such an attack if France took no steps to meet the augmentation in the strength of the German effectives that is now proposed. In three years Germany will have raised the strength of her army from 600,000 to 865,000 men. After all, French statesmen cannot be blamed for recalling Von der Goltz's famous saying that the German statesman who, seeing war inevitable and being himself ready, hesitates to strike is guilty of a crime against his country."

The writer then dealt with the numerous attempts which the British Government had made in recent years to check the competition in armaments, and the invariable German rebuffs. And he concluded as follows:

### The Price of Peace

"Mr. Angell's friend offers Britain peace at the price of the abandonment of France. But if Germany cherishes no hostile purpose against France, why should she be so anxious for us to withdraw from the Republic support which is only to be given if France is subjected to an unprovoked attack? There can be nothing unfriendly to Germany in this, as, according to Mr. Angell's informant, the last thing of which Germans are thinking is such an unprovoked attack. If, however, there should happen to be a majority of Germans who entertain the idea of 'striking France down,' then, by withdrawing her support, Britain would commit the very mistake which led Prussia direct to Jena. Prussia remained inactive in 1805 during the campaign of Austerlitz, when Napoleon was crushing Austria. The result was that in the following year she was forced into war and crushed herself.

"In fine, Britain has no quarrel with Germany and never had. The naval competition is not of Britain's seeking. It is not due to the understanding with France or the promise of a British expeditionary force to aid France in certain circumstances, but to a deliberate German policy, conceived in 1900, four years before the entente. We may hope that the German policy may change with time. But till there is evidence that it has changed we cannot be blamed for taking steps to defend ourselves."

### A New War of Armaments

The new German military proposals were published in the "Daily Mail" on March 3rd.

The German Army was to be raised with all possible speed to the gigantic total, in time of peace, of 860,000 men, at an initial outlay of from 50 to 60 millions, with a permanent charge of 10 to 15



millions. In the current year Germany was spending on her army no less than 102 millions, with a total outlay on armaments, including naval expenditure, of 130 millions.

"These colossal armaments explain the extraordinary efforts for which France is preparing with such energy and such courage. They require corresponding exertions on our part. The situation in Europe is being vitally modified; and if we are to be secure in this new world, steps must be taken without delay to strengthen both our Navy and our Army. Look where we will, the position is full of danger. Our battleship force in commission with full crews in the North Sea will be only 25 at the close of the year to the German 29 ships. Our Regular Army is weak in numbers and slow in mobilisation, our Territorial Force is menaced with collapse. Our Air Service hardly exists; in this element we are already hopelessly out-distanced by Germany, who is now proposing to double her outlay on her air-fleet. Gravest sign of all is the apathy of the Government. Is there no moral and spiritual lesson for us in that re-birth of France to a new creed of energy and self-sacrifice?"

March 5th.

If a Territorial Force of 313,000 men was required in 1907, when the armies of Europe were 40 per cent. weaker than to-day, when our naval preponderance as against Germany's was twice as great as it is at this hour, can it be pretended for a moment that we are safe with a Territorial Force of 240,000 men? That is the question which the British Government have to answer. *The manly course would be to introduce national service. But if the Government can suggest any alternative, let them adopt it. Theirs is the responsibility—the grave responsibility—to see that the Empire suffers no hurt in this new age of iron which is opening so darkly for Europe.*

#### "A Germanised Europe"—Letters of an Englishman

"We have heard much lately of the United States of Europe which, under the leadership of Germany, should hold the citadel of civilisation against the rude barbarians, and this proud dream of United States is nothing more or less than the dream of Simplicissimus. To make this dream a reality is the sole aim of German energy and German endeavour. Armaments are added to armaments, ships to ships, that Jupiter's promise may be redeemed. It is the fault of Europe if she does not understand the peril which confronts her; and to repel it, as she will, is worth the last sacrifice she can be called upon to make.

"A Germanised Europe! It is a nightmare from which the most callous of men might shrink in fear.

For a Germanised Europe means the eternal triumph of the efficient second-rate. The inventions of England, the arts of France, are already turned by anxious Germans to their own use and spoiled in the process. But if, in accordance with Jupiter's prophecy, the Germans overran the fair territory of France and placed England under their heel, there would be an end of enterprise and of the arts. Henceforth we should be drilled to a neat Teutonic pattern; what is left to us of individuality, once our most precious heritage, would be beaten out of us with a sabre; and we should be left lamenting too late that we sold our birthright for the poor pottage of gazing idly at football matches and picture palaces. Happily, prophecies do not always come true. The lofty hope encouraged by Simplicissimus will end in vanity. Meanwhile, it has given us an accurate measure of what was and what remains Germany's ambition. If we cannot thwart it we shall deserve to wear the chains of servitude for ever. Truly a perpetual peace between all nations, as in Augustus's time, would be very dearly bought by the privilege of receiving our crowns, kingdoms, and incorporated lands as fiefs of Germany!"

March 24th.

#### Yet Another Offer to Germany

Mr. Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons on the Naval Estimates, made, in the name of the Government, yet another offer to Germany. If Germany would undertake not to build new warships in the year 1914, Britain would do the same. Mr. Churchill advocated a "naval holiday" for one year. His chief points were:

There is no prospect of avoiding large and continual increases of the Estimates in future years, unless the period of acute national rivalries is ended.

The present race in naval armaments, which Britain is best able to bear, is pitiful folly.

A concerted effort should be made to arrest it.

The peoples of Europe should be asked: "If for the space of a year no new ship is built for any navy, would your interests be prejudiced in any conceivable way?"

Why should we not all take a naval holiday for a year?

The finances of every country would obtain relief, and no navy would sustain the slightest injury.

This is no appeal to weakness, but of strength striding in front.

There was no idea of entangling bargains with Germany.

Our superiority of 60 per cent. would be maintained, plus two ships for every additional German one.

All Empire ships are excluded from this calculation.

If Britain and Germany agreed to postpone or cancel their programmes for 1914, matters could be arranged with the other Powers.

The influence of Anglo-German co-operation for the peace and welfare of the world would be immeasurable.

### And Yet Another German "No"

Mr. Churchill's proposals again fell on unsympathetic ears in Germany. "Grotesque," "swaggering," "absurd," "bluff," "insincere," and "arrogant" were some of the terms applied to it. The Conservative "Post" exhausted its resources of abuse in denunciation of Mr. Churchill:

"Mr. Winston Churchill's speeches are always distinguished by inconsistency and insincerity, but he has made it particularly easy for his critics on this occasion to dispose of him point for point. Who will guarantee us, for example, that England during this 'pause-year' would not cheat us shamefully by employing the time in expanding the Colonial fleet or building in her own yards 'for foreign account'? Let the English build what they wish, and we shall build what we must."

Count Réventlow, in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung," accused Mr. Churchill of "a felonious attempt to influence that section of German public opinion which has been opposed to German naval expansion in the past, and which he hopes will keep on doing so."

### "Remote from Realities"

The "Lokal Anzeiger," which customarily reflects the Foreign Office view, declared that "Mr. Churchill's pacifist-idealist proposal is far remote from the realities with which States have to deal. His scheme will remain Utopian as long as the idea of general disarmament itself."

The pan-German "Tägliche Rundschau" said: "The psychological puzzle why Mr. Churchill is making such passionate love to us ceases to baffle when it is realised that Englishmen fear the moment when they will be financially strangled before we are. We shall eventually possess a fleet of sixty-one Dreadnoughts. In order to maintain her present superiority, and be able at any time to impose her will upon us as during the Morocco crisis, England will require 130 Dreadnoughts. That denotes for the English a process which will bleed them white. They do not possess an inexhaustible reservoir of men from compulsory service like ourselves. After seven years they will need 230,000 men. These are figures calculated to make blanch even Winston's brazen face. What Churchill wants is to make 'Rule, Britannia,' cheap. If we let him, there is a place awaiting us in the fools' gallery of the world's history."

March 29th.

The "Daily Mail" Berlin correspondent sent the

following as the view taken in competent German naval quarters of Mr. Churchill's speech.

"Despite its friendly reference to this country, the speech makes the impression of a deliberately anti-German utterance. Its failure to discuss the development of other naval Powers like Japan and the United States emphasises its one-sidedness.

"It is extremely difficult to take the idea of 'a year's naval holiday' seriously. It can hardly be believed that it was meant to be taken seriously by the British Parliament to which it was suggested. If any such agreement were consummated, Britain would probably find ways and means of evading its spirit if not its letter by a subterfuge of one kind or another.

"Other portions of Mr. Churchill's speech reveal the real motives of his proposal. England has about reached the limit of her available supply of trained seamen and petty officers. She lacks men to man the ships she desires to build. Mr. Churchill seeks to gain time to remedy these vital conditions. The English shipbuilding industry also could only benefit. It cannot take advantage of the prevailing 'boom' in maritime constructions because of the shortage of hands caused by the heavy demands of naval construction.

"If the latter ceased for one year the shipyards would be freed to take up other work, and the 'holiday' scheme, therefore, would rebound to the benefit of British yards, while paralysing the shipbuilding industry of Germany."

### Germany's Remorseless Preparations

"Germany," said the "Daily Mail" (March 31st), on the German answer, "pays no attention to words. She marches forward, remorselessly, unswervingly to pre-determined ends."

The article continued:

The first point to notice is the gigantic outlay on her air service which Germany proposes. We show elsewhere that, during the next five years, a sum of over fifteen millions will be spent upon German aircraft and their accessories. This gives an annual outlay during those five years of at least three millions, and goes far beyond any of the forecasts published. The policy adopted by the German military and naval advisers is significant in the extreme. It proves the immense importance which they attach to the control of the air, and their determination at all costs to secure it for their country. The steps which they are now preparing to take throw our puny efforts in Great Britain into the shade, and will necessitate an immediate revision of the British measures.

*The disproportion is the more disquieting because the day is evidently at hand when the Power which controls the air will be able to obtain access to every*



*part of these islands. With the coming of airmanship, in fact, British insularity ceased, and it became as essential for this country to command the air as to control the sea.*

### The Menace of German Aerial Power

A second point is the extreme rapidity with which the expansion in the German armaments is to be carried out. The Paris "Temps" has recently published calculations which show that by the close of the present year the German Army will be carried to a strength of 860,000 officers and men, always with the colours, though the strength of the French Army has fallen to 500,000 men. Unless France, then, acts with all possible speed, she will find herself enormously outnumbered on her land frontier at an early date. But the need for prompt action is not incumbent upon her alone. The British Government and the British nation have also a part to play. They have done their best to end the competition of armaments with Germany, but in vain. Henceforward, it must be their duty to see that in this competition they hold their own. The vast development of the German air-service is something more than a menace to Continental Powers. It is, in the words which Napoleon used of Antwerp, more than a century ago; a "pistol held at the head of Britain." Unless we reply to it forthwith and on the same scale we cannot be safe.

### THE MENACE OF THE AIR

In pursuance of its campaign for the development of British aviation, the "Daily Mail" (April 1st) announced two fresh competitions for large sums.

Both of these competitions are intended to develop the air weapon which we believe to be best suited to the peculiar needs of an island and a naval Power. The prize in the first competition is of the amount of £5,000, and is to be paid to the first person who makes a complete circuit of England and Scotland—a distance of about 2,000 miles—starting from the mouth of the Thames, in a waterplane of entirely British construction, within seventy-two hours. The prize in the second competition is of the amount of £10,000, and will be paid by the "Daily Mail" to the first person to cross the Atlantic in a waterplane in the same time.

Ten years ago anyone who ventured even to suggest the practicability of such flights as these would have been regarded as a suitable occupant for a lunatic asylum. So recently as six years ago many believed that our London-to-Manchester and Calais-to-Dover contests were mere fantasies. To-day, however, no one who has studied the progress of the aeroplane and waterplane has any doubt that the journeys which we propose will be made.

### Need for Waterplanes

On this occasion we have not to face a world of Doubting Thomases. The nation's anxiety has been thoroughly aroused by the gigantic expenditure on airships purposed by our German friends. We believe, after closely watching the actual work of all the various patterns of aircraft, that the alert and speedy waterplane, capable as it is of flying in weather when a huge airship would be wrecked, able to proceed at twice the airship's speed, small and difficult to hit, yet sufficiently armed to attack and destroy the gas-bag monsters, is the type upon which Great Britain should concentrate her attention. Yet we do not advocate neglect of airships or dirigible balloons. While their very size is their chief danger, rendering them vulnerable to artillery and liable to destruction by the wind, we regard them as possessing certain advantages in conditions of comparatively fair weather.

It is now a thoroughly established fact that aeroplanes can fly even in a gale. Mr. Orville Wright, who shares with his late brother the renown of inventing the first practicable heavier-than-air flying-machine, has recently informed us of flights in winds which he has timed as blowing at the rate of 55 to 60 miles an hour. A second advantage of the waterplane is that it is possible to build at least thirty craft of the present small pattern for the price of one enormous airship. We are, however, among those who hold that, just as aeroplanes for service on land are now being constructed to carry six or eight persons with ease, so will waterplanes be built that will be able to carry a petrol supply of their own sufficient for flights of immense distance over the ocean.

New developments are coming so thick and fast that Great Britain has not a moment to lose. We want to see less national supineness and far more energetic action in this all-important matter of air defence. That the British Government should remain inert and apathetic while other Powers are busied night and day in the construction of engines of war which may be used against ourselves is not in accordance with the traditions of enterprise, determination, and foresight that have made the British Empire what it is.

April 3rd.

### Germany's Seven Millions in Five Years

Now that Germany has determined to spend an additional capital sum of seven millions in the next five years upon aircraft and their accessories, the situation has been radically changed. For in the sphere of aerial competition—to vary a recent aphorism of Mr. Churchill's—"everything is relative. The strength of one air-fleet is its strength compared with another." If the German air-fleet is enormously

augmented, the British air-forces must be increased in proportion. Proposals which were adequate before the new German schemes were launched are utterly inadequate to-day.

If a ratio of 16 to 10 is essential for British security on the sea, a similar ratio of superiority in the air may well be just as necessary. *The day is not far distant when invasion by the air will become a practicable military operation, so profound a revolution has the new art of flying wrought in war. To neutralise the menace of the German airships and aeroplanes this country must admittedly build either airships or waterplanes and aeroplanes in sufficient number, or a proportion of both. It has no effective airships of large size, and, owing to the new German proposals, it will be completely out-distanced in aeroplanes and waterplanes unless special steps are taken by the British Government without further delay.*

### MR. H. G. WELLS AND WAR

*Mr. H. G. Wells, one of the most stimulating, and sure of posterity, of modern writers, contributed (April 8th, 9th, 10th) to the "Daily Mail" three vivid articles in which he gave his view of modern warfare.*

*Mr. Wells presented his aspect with his accustomed originality and independence. The "Daily Mail" added this rider to the headings of the articles :*

"Mr. Wells's headings are his own, and our readers will realise that the views are not necessarily those of the 'Daily Mail.'"

The reason of this reservation was obvious in the first article, an attack on the principle of compulsory army service.

It is unnecessary to reprint all of this article, inasmuch as, for once in his far-sighted vision, Mr. Wells saw crookedly (as the events of the Great War of 1914 have proved), especially as regards a prophecy that huge numbers of troops would not be able to be brought into action in modern war, and (in his concluding article) that Russia and Asia, and not Germany, were the present menace to Great Britain.

*(Extract from first article.)*

April 8th.

"I believe that the vast masses of men in uniform maintained by the Continental Powers at the present time are enormously overrated as fighting machines. I see Germany in the likeness of a boxer with a mailed fist as big as and rather heavier than its body, and I am convinced that when the moment comes for that mailed fist to be lifted the whole disproportionate system will topple over. The military ascendancy of the future lies with the country that dares to experiment most, that experiments best, and meanwhile keeps its actual fighting force fit and admirable and small and flexible. The experience of war during the last fifteen years has been to show repeatedly the enormous defensive power of small,

scientifically handled bodies of men. These huge conscript armies are made up not of masses of military muscle but of a large proportion of military fat. Their one way of fighting will be to fall upon an antagonist with all their available weight, and if he is mobile and dexterous enough to decline that issue of adiposity they will become a mere embarrassment to their own people. Modern weapons and modern contrivances are continually decreasing the number of men who can be employed efficiently upon a length of front. I doubt if there is any use for more than 400,000 men upon the whole Franco-Belgian frontier at the present time. Such an army, properly supplied, could—as far as terrestrial forces are concerned—hold that frontier against any number of assailants. The bigger the forces brought against it, the sooner the exhaustion of the attacking power. Now, it is for employment upon that frontier and for no other conceivable purpose in the world that Great Britain is asked to create a gigantic conscript army."

In his second article, Mr. Wells was much more stimulative, and his remarkable forecast of the triumph of the submarine has already been largely verified.

### PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN DREADNOUGHTS

"In the popular imagination the Dreadnought is still the one instrument of naval war. We count our strength in Dreadnoughts, and so long as we are spending our national resources upon them faster than any other country, if we sink at least £160 for any £100 sunk in these obsolescent monsters by Germany, we have a reassuring sense of keeping ahead and being thoroughly safe. This confidence in big, very expensive battleships, is, I believe and hope, shared by the German Government and by Europe generally, but it is nevertheless a very unreasonable confidence, and it may easily lead us into the most tragic of national disillusionments.

"We of the general public are led to suppose that

### The Next Naval War

—if ever we engage in another naval war—will begin with a decisive fleet action. The plan of action is presented with an alluring simplicity. Our adversary will come out to us, in a ratio of 10 to 16, or in some ratio still more advantageous to us, according as our adversary happens to be this Power or that Power; there will be some tremendous business with guns and torpedoes, and our admirals will return victorious to discuss the discipline and details of the battle and each other's little weaknesses in the monthly magazines. This is a desirable but improbable anticipation. No hostile Power is in the least likely to send out any battleships at all against our invincible Dread-



## MR. H. G. WELLS AND NAVAL WAR (Continued)

noughts. They will promenade the seas, always in the ratio of 16 or more to 10, looking for fleets securely tucked away out of reach. They will not, of course, go too near the enemy's coast on account of mines, and, meanwhile, our cruisers will hunt the enemy's commerce into port.

*"Then other things will happen."*

"The enemy we shall discover using unsportsmanlike devices against our capital ships. Unless he is a lunatic he will prove to be much stronger in reality than he is on paper in the matter of submarines, torpedo-boats, waterplanes, and aeroplanes. These are things cheap to make and easy to conceal. He will be richly stocked with ingenious devices for getting explosives up to these two million pound triumphs of our naval engineering. On the cloudy and foggy nights so frequent about these islands he will have extraordinary chances, and sooner or later, unless we beat him thoroughly in the air above and in the waters beneath, for neither of which proceedings we are prepared, some of these chances will come off, and

### We Shall Lose a Dreadnought.

"It will be a poor consolation if an ill-advised and stranded Zeppelin or so enlivens the quiet of the English countryside by coming down and capitulating. It will be a trifling counter-shock to wing an aeroplane or so, or blow a torpedo-boat or so out of the water. Our Dreadnoughts will cease to be a source of unmitigated confidence. A second battleship disaster will excite the Press extremely. A third will probably lead to a retirement of the battle-fleet to some East Coast harbour, a refuge liable to aeroplanes, or to the West Coast of Ireland, and the real naval war, which will be a war of destroyers, submarines, and hydroplanes, will begin. Incidentally, a commerce-destroyer or so may take advantage of the retirement of our Fleet to raid our trade routes.

"We shall then realise that the actual naval weapons are these smaller weapons, and especially the destroyer, the submarine, and the waterplane—the waterplane most of all, because of its possibilities of a comparative bigness—in the hands of competent and daring men. And I find myself, as a patriotic Englishman, more and more troubled by doubts whether we are as certainly superior to any possible adversary in these essential things as we are in the matter of Dreadnoughts. I find myself awake at nights, after a day much agitated by a belligerent Press, wondering whether the real Empire of the Sea may not even now have slipped out of our hands while our attention has been fixed on our stately procession of giant warships, while our country has been in a dream, hypnotised by the Dreadnought idea.

## An Arrest of Imagination

"For some years there seems to have been a complete arrest of the British imagination in naval and military matters. That declining faculty, never a very active or well-exercised one, staggered up to the conception of a Dreadnought, and seems now to have sat down for good. Its reply to every demand upon it has been 'more Dreadnoughts.' The future, as we British seem to see it, is an avenue of Dreadnoughts and super-Dreadnoughts and super-super-Dreadnoughts, getting bigger and bigger in a kind of inverted perspective. But the ascendancy of fleets of great battleships in naval warfare, like the phase of huge conscript armies upon land, draws to its close. The progress of invention makes both the big ship and the army crowd more and more vulnerable and less and less effective. A new phase of warfare opens beyond the vista of our current programmes. Smaller, more numerous, and various and mobile weapons and craft and contrivances, manned by daring and highly skilled men, must ultimately take the place of those massivenesses. We are entering upon a period in which the invention of methods and material for war is likely to be more rapid and various than it has ever been before; and the question of what we have been doing behind the splendid line of our Dreadnoughts to meet the demands of this new phase is one of supreme importance. Knowing, as I do, the tremendous imaginative indolence of my countrymen, it is a question I face with something very near to dismay.

"But it is one that has to be faced. The question that should occupy our directing minds now is no longer 'How can we get more Dreadnoughts?' but

### Submarines and Aeroplanes

"To the Power that has most nearly guessed the answer to that riddle belongs the future Empire of the Seas. It is interesting to guess for oneself and to speculate upon the possibility of a kind of armoured mother-ship for waterplanes and submarines and torpedo craft, but necessarily that would be a mere journalistic and amateurish guessing, I'm not guessing in these short papers, but asking urgent questions. What force, what council, how many imaginative and inventive men has the country got at the present time employed not casually but professionally in anticipating the new strategy, the new tactics, the new material, the new training, that invention is so rapidly rendering necessary? I have the gravest doubts whether we are doing anything systematic at all in this way.

"Now it is the tremendous seriousness of this deficiency to which I want to call attention. *Great Britain has in her armour a gap more dangerous and vital than any mere numerical insufficiency of men or ships. She is short of minds. Behind its strength*

## MR. H. G. WELLS AND NAVAL WAR (Continued)

of current armaments to-day, a strength that begins to evaporate and grow obsolete from the very moment it comes into being, a country needs more and more this profounder strength of intellectual and creative activity.

"This country most of all, which was left so far behind in the production of submarines, airships, and aeroplanes, must be made to realise the folly of its trust in established things. Each new thing we take up more belatedly and reluctantly than its predecessor. The time is not far distant when we shall be 'caught' lagging unless we change all this.

### The New Arm

"We need a new arm to our service; we need it urgently, and we shall need it more and more, and that arm is Research. We need to place inquiry and experiment upon a new footing altogether, to enlist for them and organise them, to secure the pick of our young chemists and physicists and engineers, and to get them to work systematically upon the anticipation and preparation of our future war equipment. We need a service of invention to recover our lost lead in these matters.

"And it is because I feel so keenly the want of such a service, and the want of great sums of money for it, that I deplore the disposition to waste millions upon the hasty creation of a universal service army and upon excessive Dreadnoughting. I am convinced that we are spending upon the things of yesterday the money that is sorely needed for the things of to-morrow.

"With our eyes averted obstinately from the future we are backing towards disaster."

April 10th.

### Trifling With a Vital Problem

Under this heading the "Daily Mail" once more returned to the charge (in April, 1913) of the country's aerial defence:

Germany already possesses 28 airships, some 12 of which are capable of naval operations, and in the near future she will have a fleet of 50 of these craft. We, on the other hand, are backward in almost every direction—in waterplanes, in aeroplanes, in airship sheds, in guns for the destruction of aircraft, in searchlights to detect them, and in a personnel trained in the navigation of the air. Our only naval airships now building are two of comparatively small size. That is a pitiful result. It condemns the British Navy in any future conflict to the defensive; and, as Pitt said, "defensive war spells ruin." *The conquest of the air by man has revolutionised the art of warfare. So profound is the revolution that its full meaning has not been grasped*

*by either the Government or the public.* Napoleon declared that correct information was one of the most important factors in victory. The commander of a fleet or army with a good air-force can obtain accurate information about his enemy and deny that enemy information about his own force. The first act of the next war will be a struggle in the air for the power to ascertain what the foe is doing; and if British admirals or generals have no aircraft, or weaker aircraft than their opponents, they will be blind men fencing with keen-eyed antagonists. They will be doomed to defeat in such conditions. Immediate and strenuous efforts are required to meet the danger.

April 22nd.

### PRINCE LOUIS' WARNING

In his speech at the Union Jack Club, Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg administered the *coup de grace* to those critics of Lord Roberts who tell us that invasion is impossible because the Fleet will prevent it. "There could," said Prince Louis, "be no more foolish and mischievous statement. The Fleet alone cannot do it, and the presence of a sufficiently trained professional army in this island kingdom at all times is quite as necessary."

No officer's opinion carries greater weight. Prince Louis is not only First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and as such charged with the direction of the British Navy in war, but also an admiral of unrivalled experience and extraordinary success in manoeuvres. Yet against all this experience and success, and against odds of 2 to 1, a fleet representing the German Navy was able in last year's mimic war to land 28,000 men on the Yorkshire coast. Prince Louis in speaking has knowledge of the actual verities of naval war behind his words, for not all his skill was able to prevent this blow.

The hour has come for the Government to admit the danger and face it manfully, as Lord Curzon urged in the House of Lords last night, by joining hands with its political opponents to place the safety of the country beyond dispute. *The Government is pretending that the invading army of 70,000, which it itself four years ago laid down as the standard by which British preparations to resist invasion must be measured, can never come at all, or, if it does come, will come in scattered detachments and without artillery and cavalry. Prince Louis' speech yesterday disposes of this contention once and for all. It hoists for the nation the signal of danger.*

April 26th.

### Sir John French's Endorsement

General Sir John French's speech at the London Chamber of Commerce dinner is deeply significant,



in that it endorses Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg's declaration on Monday at the Union Jack Club. It shows that there is entire agreement between the First Sea Lord and the Chief of the General Staff on this point, that the Navy alone is not sufficient protection against invasion. Prince Louis condemned that view as both "foolish and mischievous." It is quite clear that Sir John French's opinion is the same, though it was expressed in carefully guarded language. As he said, it was impossible for him to "speak very freely." But what he did say was enough to carry conviction to all but the wilfully blind. He recalled the fact that six years ago the First Sea Lord had told the citizens of London they might sleep comfortably in their beds "because invasion was an impossibility." And he went on to say, "whatever was thought then, it is deemed advisable now to reconsider the whole question." In other words, the complacent view of 1907 is no longer accepted by the Army and the Fleet.

But if the Navy in its present strength cannot give security against an invasion, it becomes a matter of overwhelming importance that we should be able to meet and crush an invader on land should he succeed in effecting his disembarkation. The Regular Army may be absent; indeed, its absence has always been assumed by British Governments in making their calculations. We are left, then, with the Territorial Force as our sole defence in the last resort; and upon this force General Sir John French has already pronounced the following verdict:

"You are not fit, and you cannot be fit, with your present training, to be brought face to face with regular troops in the field. Training in war conditions is absolutely necessary, and you must make up your minds to that."

But the "training in war conditions" cannot be given, for reasons adduced by Sir John French on Thursday night. "The numbers and efficiency of the Territorial Force are governed and bounded by the limits of voluntary effort." Were more drills demanded of the men, the advantage which the shirker already holds would be increased. The volunteer cannot make limitless sacrifices, and the numbers, which even now are 60,000 below the establishment, would be enormously reduced.

The Government now knows the opinion of its chief naval and its chief military adviser. It is aware that both insist on the necessity of a sufficient and well-trained military force behind the Fleet. This force must be provided whatever the cost. If Ministers will not adopt national service, it is their business and duty to tell us what other plan they have in view to provide it. The danger of the present policy of drift, in the face of increasing perils and responsibilities, grows every day.

25th July.

### THE ENEMY ASHORE

*Though the mimic war which is being fought out with such ingenuity and spirit between the Red and Blue fleets on our coast is now only three days old, the enemy managed to get ashore. Despite bad weather and generally unfavourable conditions, Red made his way past the Blue defenders and disembarked a force of 2,500 troops at and near Grimsby. The docks were captured; the oil depot destroyed—in theory; the all-important wireless station at the Humber mouth put out of action, and various other damage inflicted. Were this real war, with what a thrill and shudder would such news be read! And yet it is certain that in real war we must be prepared for raids in every direction round our coast. The enemy will try his hardest to injure our exposed bases and to spread panic among the unarmed and undrilled population of our seaboard. It is well, then, that we should be prepared. The realism of these manœuvres is full of hints and warnings to John Bull.*

*Yet, in war, blows such as this would involve a far greater degree of risk. In manœuvres there is for the transports laden with troops no danger of being blown into the air by a torpedo without any notice, a possibility which acts as a singular damper on enthusiasm, to judge from the statement of these who have faced it. In actual war the North Sea would be a sea of death, sown with mines, haunted by fierce and terrible steel creatures—the home of the devilish grey submarine and the lean, black, swift-moving destroyer. Overhead would hover, humming like evil insects, the airships and waterplanes, scouting for the enemy, looking for submarines, and, it may even be, dropping bombs when hostile craft were sighted.*

*This is the new phase of naval war of which our own age is witnessing the beginning. In the past the large vessel, the capital ship, was everything. In the naval war of to-day there is no such certainty. The battleship finds her supremacy menaced by the aircraft and the submarine.*

### "THE DAILY MAIL" AND AVIATION

It will be remembered by many readers of the "Daily Mail" that after that journal, in collaboration with the early members of what is now the Royal Automobile Club, had brought before the public, by prizes and contests, the value of motor traction, it set to work to arouse a national awakening in regard to aircraft.

It is difficult to realise to-day that in May, 1896, motor-cars were hardly known in this country and their use was illegal, yet in the very first leading article which appeared in the "Daily Mail," on May 4, 1896, its first number, their future utility was emphasised.

In its endeavour to encourage aviation, the "Daily Mail," from the very earliest days of flying,

offered a series of valuable prizes, the winning of which marked the successive stages in the new method of progress. As long ago as 1906—before that first famous aviation meeting at Rheims which introduced the new art to the great mass of the public—the “Daily Mail” offered £10,000 for a flight from London to Manchester in twenty-four hours, with not more than two halts en route. Those newspapers which waxed sarcastic at what they in their sublime ignorance held to be a prize offered because it could not possibly be captured came to wish they had been less hasty with their sneers when young Louis Paulhan, flying a great, clumsy biplane, won the “Daily Mail” £10,000 in April, 1910. Since those early days the “Daily Mail” has offered an aggregate sum of no less than £39,100 in cash prizes for flying. The fact that prizes representing as much as £24,600 of this amount have been won, despite the growing severity of the conditions governing the “Daily Mail” competitions, shows what enormous strides aviation has made since the far-off days when Santos Dumont’s modest hop in his heavier-than-air machine opened up fresh vistas to the world.

The greatest “Daily Mail” prizes, and those which had incontestably the greatest effect on the progress of flying, were its two £10,000 prizes. Of the first we have already spoken; the other is so recent as to be well known. This was the £10,000 offered for the circuit of Britain, won in 1911 by “Beaumont,” that master airman. This race definitely established the utility of the aeroplane as a long-distance machine. The third “Daily Mail” £10,000 cheque is still waiting to be won, the prize for the Transatlantic flight, which would in all probability have been attempted this year but for the outbreak of war; and also a £5,000 prize for the circuit of the British Isles by water-plane.

One of the most celebrated “Daily Mail” prizes, which created an enormous stir at the time, was the £1,000 offered in 1908 for the cross-Channel flight. Previous to this, in 1907, the “Daily Mail” had offered a prize of £100 for the first half-mile flight in an aeroplane, the winner being the famous Henry Farman. But to cross the Straits of Dover by air appealed vividly to the popular imagination, and the exciting contest between Blériot and Latham, the aerial stars of their day, and the final victory of the former, have invested this “Daily Mail” prize with immortality.

The first Channel flight marked the opening of a new era. It was followed by two “Daily Mail” £1,000 prizes, one for the first circular mile flight in the British Isles by a British subject in a British-built machine, the other for the greatest aggregate cross-country flight in the year. Mr. Moore-Brabazon won the first, Paulhan the second.

In order to develop the waterplane, now the indispensable adjunct of all fighting fleets, the “Daily Mail” offered a prize of £5,000 for a water-plane flight round the British coast. The “Daily Mail” gave Mr. Hawker a consolation prize of £1,000 in recognition of his splendid, though unsuccessful, attempt to complete the flight.

The flight round London, inaugurated by a prize of £250 and a gold cup to Mr. Sopwith from the “Daily Mail” in 1912, now bids fair to become an annual event under the name of the Air Derby, with a hundred-guinea gold cup from the “Daily Mail” as the trophy.

In addition to these prizes, the “Daily Mail” has always encouraged airmen and aviation generally by bestowing a number of handsome cups and consolation prizes for notable feats in the air.

October 7th.

### The Scorn of Discipline

From “The Letters of an Englishman.”

“Numbers we have, and refuse to use them. We laugh in scorn at the mere threat of discipline. So intent are we upon peace that every year we approach nearer to the provocation of war.”

### Mr. Churchill’s Fresh Offer

Mr. Churchill, speaking at Manchester on October 18th, made still another friendly and sincere offer to Germany:

“The proposal which I put forward in the name of his Majesty’s Government for a naval holiday is quite simple. . . . Next year, apart from the Canadian ships or their equivalent, apart from anything that may be required by new developments in the Mediterranean, we are to lay down four ships to the Germans’ two. Now, we say, in all friendship and sincerity to our great neighbour, Germany:

“If you will put off beginning your two new ships for twelve months from the ordinary date when you would have begun them, we will put off beginning our four ships in absolute good faith for exactly the same period.”

“That would mean that there would be a complete holiday for one year, so far as big ships are concerned, between Great Britain and Germany. There would be a saving, spread over three years, of nearly six millions to Germany and of nearly twelve millions to this country. The relative strength of the two countries would be absolutely unchanged.

“But we recognise that it would not be possible for either Germany or ourselves, even if we were agreed between ourselves, to stand still for a whole year unless other Powers could be persuaded to do



likewise. If such an agreement were reached between us, it could only be an agreement contingent upon the result of our negotiations with other Great Powers.

"Suppose, then, that Great Britain and Germany take the lead in approaching other great European Powers. Do you not think that there would be very good prospects of success? Would not the influence of Great Britain and Germany, excited in such a cause, be most powerful, perhaps all-powerful? Can we not go to our respective friends in Europe and use our influence with them? If Austria did not build for a year, would not that relieve Italy? If neither Austria nor Italy builds, the obligation would be removed from France and Great Britain. The fact that the Triple Alliance was building no ships would make it possible, without the slightest danger or risk, for the other three great European Powers to do the same.

#### "A Glorious and Memorable Event"

"Does it not seem likely that if such a great event, such a glorious and memorable event, even came to pass—does it not seem very likely that it would produce an effect upon the naval construction of the United States, and that that again would produce its repercussion upon the naval policy of Japan? At the end of a year you might have all these great countries just as safe and just as strong as they will be if they build all the ships they have in mind at the present time, and a vast treasure of many millions would have been arrested for the progress and enlightenment of mankind."

The "Daily Mail," welcoming Mr. Churchill's offer, said:

Fortunately, in recent months British relations with Germany have markedly improved without injury to British understandings with other Powers. So the raising of this awkward question of dis-

armament in the frank and friendly spirit which Mr. Churchill displayed can cause no mischief, though we shall be agreeably surprised if any good results so far as Germany is concerned. Our Berlin correspondent, who is exceptionally well informed, indicates in the important message which we print to-day that Germany's reply to this offer is not likely to be more favourable than those which were accorded to the similar offers which have been made by Britain six times in the immediate past. German naval circles insist that the Reichstag must be consulted before anything can be done. They plead that a suspension of shipbuilding for twelve months would paralyse the German yards. They declare that the British proposals are "undebatable" and mean "naval suicide" for Germany. This is not altogether promising, but the German Government has still to speak.

But even should the German reply to Mr. Churchill's overtures be as unfavourable as our Berlin correspondent expects, the First Lord's efforts will not have been wasted. They will have demonstrated to the advocates of retrenchment in the Liberal Party that their policy of wholesale naval reductions is unhappily impracticable. For us, Mr. Churchill has said, *the strength of the Fleet is not merely a question of our trade; it is a question of our lives. If Germany and the Continental Powers continue to build Dreadnoughts with might and main, Britain must also build—or perish.*

#### Once More the German "No"

The German Press, as in previous instances, scouted Mr. Churchill's last offer not only with almost absolute unanimity, but with a repetition of their former insults and accusations against Great Britain. "Die Post" characterised the offer as the "generosity of the burglar who places his revolver in his left pocket and takes another from his right pocket."

# FATAL 1914

## THE SUICIDE CLUB AGAIN

The energies of the Little Navy party flamed up again in the New Year. That very staunch Englishman (of Swiss parentage) Sir John Brunner, in his grave anxiety for the welfare of Great Britain, invited all the Liberal Associations in the country "to pass resolutions in favour of reductions in armaments expenditure."

January 3rd.

The "Daily Mail," in leading articles, said:

The country must realise that a concerted movement is on foot, ably led and powerfully supported in the House of Commons, to reduce British sea-power below the margin of national and Imperial safety.

And the reasons for so wanton a gamble with the foundations of our very existence? The first is that we are on better terms with Germany. So we are, and so, it is to be hoped, we may long continue to be. But are we on that account to forgo the battleships we need? Are we to cut down our shipbuilding programme because Germany for the moment seems to have outgrown her fit of scowling ill-will? If German smiles are to be rewarded by the sacrifice of so many Dreadnoughts every year, the Teutonic countenance will be simply wreathed in benevolence until our forces are sufficiently reduced. It is nothing less than ludicrous to ask us, as "men in a world of men," to frame our naval policy as though all international ambitions had exhausted themselves, as though the last great naval fight had been fought, as though our Estimates were to go up or down in accordance with each fleeting change in the barometer of European politics.

The second reason put forward is that the events of the past year must impose—in fact, have already imposed—upon Germany the necessity of safeguarding anew her strategic position on land, and that for some time to come there is bound to be a proportionate diminution in her preparations at sea. But the German Navy Law is fixed for a definite period, which has still four years to run. Nothing we can do can affect the allotted programme in a single item. It will proceed to its predestined completion independently of us. Germany will still build even if we stop; and the only result of flinching to-day will be that we shall be called upon to make a superhuman effort later on, possibly after a period of severe political tension, certainly with many circumstances against us that are now in our favour.

The question is of extreme gravity, because, whatever the "Suicide Club" may assert, German naval development is proceeding uninterruptedly.

Mr. Churchill's proposals, far from giving this country too strong a Fleet, leave it with forces approximately equal in numbers to the German squadrons permanently maintained in full commission in home waters. Behind the British Fleet there is nothing but the wreck of the Territorial Force and a numerically insignificant Regular Army. *Moreover, the naval manœuvres of the past two years have shown that, even with a great preponderance at sea, the defence of the British Islands is a matter of quite unexpected difficulty.*

January 5th.

## EXTRACTS FROM ADMIRAL MAHAN'S ARTICLE

### The Tinder-Box of Europe

"The avowed and executed purpose of Germany with regard to the force of her Navy, and the rivalry between Italy and Austria insuring a similar, if smaller, development in the Eastern Mediterranean, constitute the main elements of the contemporary naval situation as adverse to Great Britain.

"That the Near East will continue for a generation the tinder-box which it has been for a half-century past is more than ever likely from the events of the last twelve months.

"If a general war should grow out of the present critical situation, how certainly can the British Navy secure Egypt and Suez?

"Such security, if maintained, would imply almost inevitably power to act offensively also in neighbouring waters. If similar conditions were to arise five years hence, how would the situation be affected by probable changes in the variable factor of the several naval forces—a matter of prediction?

"When in England last autumn I was told that a German naval officer had predicted some years before that German naval increase would compel Great Britain to abandon the Mediterranean. Whether abandonment has actually occurred may be a matter of argument, dependent upon the appreciation placed by any adequate authority upon the movement or redistribution of the British Navy which has recently been made. That there has been relative abandonment seems indisputable when measured by the conditions of the past two centuries. But circumstances alter cases; such abandonment has occurred more than once, though not, I believe, in time of peace.

"Whether France alone, formerly the enemy, or whether France with the support of Great Britain, can maintain the control of trade security and military effectiveness throughout the sea is the point in question. It will not be sufficient to secure the western half.



"The British Empire needs the whole sea for Imperial movement of commerce and for Imperial naval effectiveness, dependent upon the movement of fleets, essential to the existence of the Empire."

February 28th.

### LORD ROBERTS'S LAST WARNING

On February 27th Lord Roberts, accompanied by an influential deputation of the National Service League, placed before Mr. Asquith arguments of what the "Daily Mail" described as "overwhelming force" for the introduction of national service in this country. Those arguments and Mr. Asquith's answer are summarised in the leader on the subject of the "Daily Mail" next day.

The breakdown of the voluntary system for home defence after years of experiment is complete. The Territorial Force is 63,000 men short of its meagre establishment, and is shrinking as rapidly as the Liberal majority. It is not only short in numbers; it is also wanting in efficiency, and it cannot take the field until it has received six months' training. This is the more serious because, as Lord Roberts pointed out, while the Territorials have been marching backwards, other nations have been going rapidly forward with their armaments. To-day, as Admiral Sir Edward Seymour warned Mr. Asquith, the British Navy is no longer able to perform all the duties which will fall upon it in war. The country is not safe, and yet, as Spinoza said, "Security is the virtue of the State."

Mr. Asquith was sympathetic to the deputation, but not altogether convincing in his reply. He admitted that the burden of defence should be more widely borne. He recognised the value of physical and military training of the young, though he questioned whether compulsory service was the best means of securing that training. He acknowledged serious defects in the Territorial Force, and spoke of giving it "more encouragement." But no amount of encouragement will overcome this essential difficulty which was pointed out years ago by the Norfolk Commission—that as the officers and men are tied by the economic necessities of civil employment, they cannot in return for higher pay give up more time to military duties. *He believed that the famous Sub-Committee on Invasion had shown that the danger of anything more than a raid did not exist. Yet our recent naval manœuvres have suggested that the risk is certainly greater than Mr. Asquith allows. Thus the net result is that the country is once more put off with fair words, and its Premier in the matter of home defence has adopted a policy of "wait and see."*

### "Ten Minutes' Firing"

This is not a satisfactory position, and it is not improved because Ministers shut their eyes to its

perils. They declare off-hand that "the country will not have national service." But, as Lord Roberts reminded them yesterday, this may be because *they have never told the country the full truth or warned it of the immense risks which it is incurring by remaining half armed.* In Australia and New Zealand two of our daughter nations have loyally accepted the duty of national defence, and a great system of compulsory training is now at work within their territories. That duty is even more imperative for us, because we lie nearer to the seat of danger. The British Isles are within a few hours' steam of ports whence vast invading forces could issue were our command of the narrow seas once shaken or destroyed. And the growth of foreign fleets has produced conditions in which that command might vanish in a single night or in ten minutes of firing in the stormy waters of the North Sea. *The creation of a citizen army, by rendering invasion out of the question, would set the British admirals free for their work of destroying the hostile fleets.* It would do more; it would instil into the rank and file of the nation a new spirit of duty and devotion, while it would preserve the physique of our manhood from degeneracy. *Until there is national service the country cannot be safe. That it has to come is certain. The only question is whether, as Colonel Seely once remarked, it is to come before or after a great disaster—to come now or to come too late.*

Lord Roberts (March 2nd) addressed to the "Daily Mail" a long letter as a rejoinder to Mr. Asquith. The following is the concluding passage of the letter:

"It is difficult to take Mr. Asquith seriously when he denies that the dangers to his country of invasion are greater and our capacity of defence less than either have been at any previous time in our history.' *A century ago, when the voter was in a mood to take the dangers of war seriously, behind a Fleet that had swept all other fleets off the sea we had more than four times more soldiers in proportion to our population than at present.* This is a notorious and oft-repeated fact; and in the face of this and similar facts, Mr. Asquith's optimism is scarcely more reassuring than the right-about-turn of the First Sea Lord.

"ROBERTS, F.-M."

March 13th.

### Mr. Churchill Defeats the Suicide Club (Extract from Leader)

The Navy Estimates for the coming year were published yesterday, and show a proposed expenditure of £51,550,000. Thus it appears that on the main issue Mr. Churchill has had his way and defeated the Suicide Club. Large though the

amount to be voted is, it is not one penny too much when the disparity of the risks run by Great Britain and her naval rivals is considered. Nor will there be any finching at this outlay of a million a week. We can bear it better than any other Power.

*These Estimates show that the British Admiralty has adopted a policy of complete reliance upon the French Navy to protect British interests in the Mediterranean. But this policy, as Lord Roberts points out in the grave letter which we print to-day, involves corresponding obligations for the British people on land. If we look to the French Navy to aid our Navy at sea, we must be prepared to assist the French Army on the Continent if need be with a perfectly organised and adequate expeditionary force.*

### THE LAST WORD

In May of this year (1914)—prior, be it noted, to the Sarajevo assassinations, seized upon by Austria and Germany as their cause of the Great War—the relations of Germany and Russia became strained, owing to a violent campaign of the inspired German Press against Russia. The strengthening of the Russian Army was declared to be directed against Germany. So violent was the campaign that part of the German Press—so horrified a few months later at the perfidy of those Allies who “broke the peace of Europe by a concerted attack on Germany”—urged the German Government “forthwith to fall upon Russia with the German Army and destroy her.”

Herr von Jagow, the German Foreign Secretary, reviewing foreign affairs in the Reichstag on May 14th, threw the blame of this war-cloud on the British and Russian Press, blaming the former for “paying no attention to the systematic anti-German campaign” carried on by the Russian Press until it evoked recriminations in Germany.

The “Daily Mail” leader thereon (May 15th), was its last reference to Germany’s menace to Europe.

The German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Jagow, saw fit yesterday to deliver a violent attack on the British Press in the Reichstag. The cause, if we understand him correctly, was that it did not espouse Germany’s interests in her recent newspaper war with Russia. Yet that English newspapers should sympathise with Russia rather than with Germany is not extraordinary in view of the fact that Russia is Great Britain’s partner in the Triple Entente, while Germany is building Dreadnoughts amain with the avowed intention of endangering the supremacy of “the mightiest Navy.” In such circumstances to denounce the British Press for showing sympathy for Russia is to reveal a curious want of humour.

We do not complain because the Austrian Press is generally sympathetic to Germany, or the German

to Austria, knowing that these Powers are allies, and recognising fairly and frankly that the existence of an alliance will modify political opinions. But we must be permitted to point out that in the immediate past Russia has received more than one unpleasant shock from Germany, who, in 1909, suddenly threatened her with war. After such a lesson the Russians would have been more than angels if they had not taken steps to protect themselves against similar surprises in the future. Even so, Germany led the way with the immense increases in her army effected in 1912 and 1913. Of what, then, does Herr von Jagow complain?

This book may fitly conclude with a remarkable contribution to the “Daily Mail” by Mr. Lovat Fraser on June 18th—a few weeks only before Germany and Austria flung Europe into the greatest war of all time.

Mr. Lovat Fraser faithfully recorded a dream—a dream of war in the air. The vision—with all its tragedies of German barbarity—was strangely prophetic.

### A DREAM OF WAR IN THE AIR A True Record. By Lovat Fraser

This is the true record of a dream, and not an artificial product of the imagination. Many details are omitted, but the fantastic inaccuracies of dream-land remain untouched, and nothing has been added.

I dreamed that I was roving aimlessly about Europe, as I have done several times before. I drifted to Constantinople, and there I heard vague talk of war, I do not know between whom. It made no impression on me. I had made up my mind to go round all those delightful little towns and villages on the Bosphorus, sketching and idling. I was full of this project, and did not suppose the war-talk could possibly affect me personally. I feel sure most men are like that.

I went to Buyukdereh, the place beyond Therapia. The next thing I remember was driving rather quickly all along the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, but high above and far back from the shore. Whether there is actually a road there I do not know. I stopped somewhere, at a little, rose-covered inn with a verandah. It stood very high, there were trees before it, and through them one seemed to see all Stamboul down a long, blue vista. Away to the left, in the foreground, was an immense red-brick building which I should have taken to be a barracks, only it had three tall round chimney-stacks, so I supposed it was a factory. In reality, there cannot be any such place in that locality. It did not block the vista, so I sat in the verandah among the roses and sketched quite happily.

And then the smash came! One moment, roses and sunshine, and people sipping their drinks; the



next, the red building split and collapsed, and the three tall chimney-stacks toppled sideways all in the same direction, exactly like a row of skittles. Far below, through the blue-grey haze, I also saw a vast mosque on my side of the water instantly squashed, just as though someone had hit a cardboard toy palace with a wooden mallet. I heard no noise. I suppose one does not hear noises in dreams.

I remember that instantly I said to myself: "Here are these extraordinary happenings, and I alone, of all newspaper men, have seen them from a hill-top." Then I found myself muttering: "All my life I have said that the biggest news does not come by looking for it, but at utterly unforeseen moments." Then it occurred to me that I did not know how or why these things had happened. An immense shadow, like the shadow of a cloud on a hillside, passed over the landscape before me. Looking up, I saw, with wonder rather than with fear, a mighty airship, shining like silver, gleaming and splendid and terrible. It was moving very slowly, but seemed inexorable as death, and wonder quickly changed to fear. Where could one escape from this terrific engine of destruction? The fields all round became full of soldiers. They were not marching in any order, but were running about in confused fashion, like ants in a disturbed ant-heap. One or two bombs fell among them. I became possessed by the thought that I would get across to the European side of the water. The airship circled overhead, quite low down. More bombs fell, deadly as ever, though to me noiseless.

Next I found myself on the European side, but do not know whether it was in Pera or Stamboul. I am not writing a story, but recording a dream. I wanted to get to a certain hotel. I thought it was in Pera, but from the view from the hotel windows it may have been in Stamboul, somewhere near the aqueduct of Valens. I had got hold of an open two-horse carriage. The road was filled with a frenzied, panic-stricken mob running away. The driver jumped down to bolt with them. A fierce calmness had succeeded my fear. I snatched his whip, lashed the horses, and drove forward ruthlessly through the silent, maddened throng.

I reached the hotel. It was a ramshackle place, like a big warren, all whitewashed within, and with old timber doorposts and staircases. It stood in a narrow, sloping lane amid an untidy middle of smaller buildings. I could draw it now, but in real life I have never seen it. Inside I met an Englishman I knew. He seemed quiet, but dazed.

"They're Germans," he said. "None but Germans could do this."

"But why should they wreck a city?" I cried; and said something about international law.

"International law ended when airships came in," was his reply; and he said no more.

Somehow, I know not how, I got a room high up, and looked out over the Golden Horn and the doomed city. There were two or three airships flying quite low, and they seemed to be intermittently destroying the principal buildings. From first to last I never saw an aeroplane. I remember seeing the tremendous mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent perish in a moment, and recall even the first black hole in the dome before the structure vanished. Terror seized me once more.

I no longer wanted to run. Hope had not deserted me, but earth had no refuge left. I sat at the window of my garret and brooded, chin on hand. Thoughts of personal safety had gone, but as I watched I saw, or thought I saw, the meaning of those hovering monsters.

"Aerial warfare," I thought, "means the end of our civilisation. Plainly in conquering the air man has also wrought the destruction for a time of the glories he has so painfully reared. While men fought on land or on the seas the opportunities for destruction were more limited, the rate of movement comparatively slow, the chances on the whole more equal. In a siege, in a land battle, even in a sea fight, combatants still had their chance, and so had the populace. The meaning of aerial warfare is that secrecy has gone, and that both sides have enormously increased their facilities for smashing things. Victory must be won through terror. Why smash an army or a fleet when they can smash a capital? No laws can overcome the temptation, and humane restraints will not do it, for war is bound to be essentially inhuman. They will smash and smash each other's cities until our civilisation is smashed too."

I pondered on. "Civilisation rises and wanes. Other civilisations have been smashed before. Does this new warfare mean more than Atilla and Genghiz Khan and the Goths? Yes; all the difference between a few swords and a tremendous explosion. Our civilisation is vaster and more complex; and just as the means of destruction are greater, so the smash must be more overwhelming."

As I sat and brooded I saw more troops, as it seemed a whole new army, pouring into some open spaces near at hand. A glittering airship drew close overhead. I went downstairs and found the other Englishman.

A great block of buildings right before us was shattered and vanished in clouds of dust. Our inn still stood, but was partly unroofed. We were open to the sky. The troops were in sight, running from the scattering bombs.

A shower suddenly fell all round us. "They're

dropping bullets," said my friend. I saw big, white smears like paint on my clothes, and, scraping a little on my finger, smelt it. "Good Lord!" I cried, "the brutes are dropping inflammable stuff! They're going to burn us as well!"

Then in a moment the whole scene vanished, and I woke. I have not been trying to write like a certain famous novelist, with whose works I am, nevertheless, familiar. Even to the thoughts in that garret, this is a true and exact record of a dream.

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## The Pro-German Press.

"There will be no war with Germany."—Mr. Cadbury, *Daily News*.

*Extracts from "Daily News," "The Nation," "Manchester Guardian," and "Daily Graphic."*

In the preceding pages there has been given a careful and chronological account of the "Daily Mail's" campaign of enlightenment with regard to the insidious designs of Germany. This is one side of the picture. On the other hand, contemporaneously there have been appearing a number of journals the essence of whose attitude can, without exaggeration, be designated pro-Germanism.

Since the Liberal Government took office in 1906 certain of their official organs have at all times and in all ways advocated a policy which, if adopted by their own more responsible leaders, would have covered this country with shame and would have spelt ruin to the Empire.

It has been a policy of Little Englandism. A small Fleet, a small Army, hostility to Russia, a studied coolness towards France—in short, a foreign policy on the lines of the Manchester School. Before the pettifogging demands of trade, the safety of Europe has been as nothing. The excuse which has been offered for this programme has usually been that of Social Reform; and the Old Age Pensions, Liberal Budgets, and fanciful land schemes have been dangled before the eyes of the people with a set purpose of distracting their attention from the gathering war-clouds on the Continent. For the Liberal Press must have known, however incompletely, the intentions of Germany. The "Daily Mail" undoubtedly gave special prominence to the ever-increasing crowd of disconcerting facts. But while these facts, or at least a portion of them, were equally accessible, the pages of the Liberal Press may be searched in vain for any such emphasis or for any such insight. Not only that, but the leaders of the Liberal Party, since the decease of the Little Englander, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, have undoubtedly been pursuing a foreign policy which has been proved to be in full accordance with the "Daily Mail's" interpretation of facts since 1906. And for this the best evidence which may be cited are the countless attacks on Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues which have illuminated pages of contemporaries, and which were even continued when every right-thinking man was convinced of the necessity of our entering into the war.

One has only to read the leaders in such papers as the "Manchester Guardian" and the "Daily News" from August 1st to August 5th of this year

to realise to what depth of degradation and dishonour responsible guiders of public opinion could sink.

But this was the culmination of a descent—from no high height of patriotism, indeed—which began, if one must fix a date, with Campbell-Bannerman's letter in the first number of the "Nation." This letter laid down certain principles of false patriotism which have been enthusiastically followed and distressingly developed by this pro-German section of the Press. Their only notices of Germany have been when either they have pleaded, in the face of reason, for an alliance with that country, or when they have contemptuously and with feeble humour attempted to attack some important item of news about Germany which they as the "know-nothing" Press missed, and which the "Daily Mail," with its splendid service of foreign correspondents, obtained. Envy and rancour intensified stupidity. Complementary with these attacks, whose futility present events are completely demonstrating, has been the advocacy of an inadequate Navy and an inadequate Army, and the abandonment of our friendship with France—the most priceless legacy of the last Conservative Administration. Even more disgusting, if not actually so harmful, have been the columns of fawning adulation which, week in and week out, have been poured upon the Kaiser. In order to attract the people of these islands towards the alliance with Germany which they so desired, the War Lord of Germany was invested with a halo of romance and with so attractive a personality that it is no wonder certain purblind people refuse even now to believe in the destruction of Louvain and Rheims. On the coarse, cynical, and brutal figure of the arch-Hun the Liberal Press seem to have paid more sincere homage than they have done to their own King-Emperor.

In the following pages there will be given extracts from these Liberal journals in support of these generalisations. They are taken from the "Daily News" and the "Manchester Guardian." Also, it is to be regretted that the pages of the "Daily Graphic" furnish curious and copious illustrations of English Kaiser-worship. The extracts begin in January, 1906, and end on the declaration of war against Germany, and, taken as a whole, they present an interpretation of foreign policy which would be ridiculous if it were not so seriously lamentable.

### THE "DAILY NEWS"

"Daily News," March 7th, 1906.

"The total sum in military and naval expenditure stands thus at the staggering total of nearly sixty-six millions a year. *Here is the legacy left by ten years of Conservative rule.* The two totals stand on a different level of criticism. The Navy is England's first and last line of defence. Its reduction must depend not upon any theory of rival parties, but upon the correct reading of the European situation. We believe that every recent change in that situation has made for the possibilities of wise retrenchment. And considering the nature of such changes as the vanishing of the Russian Navy, the friendship for France, the alliance with Japan, the alternative appears irresistible."

#### *The Kaiser's Letter to Lord Tweedmouth*

"Daily News," March 7th, 1908.

"*The methods of the 'Times' of yesterday threw the normal atrocities of the 'Yellow' journalism completely in the shade.* . . . The correspondence is branded—it would seem before the letter has even been scrutinised—as 'an attempt to influence the Minister responsible for our Navy in a direction favourable to German interests—an attempt, in other words, to make it more easy for German preparations to overtake our own.'"

"Daily News," March 8th, 1908.

"The widespread indignation in reference to the action of the 'Times' has not diminished in intensity with the progress of events. It is seen with increased clearness to be not only *a gratuitous insult to a friendly monarch* before any evidence is vouchsafed, but an attempt to restore the relations of England and Germany to their old conditions of bitterness and distrust. . . ."

"Daily News" Berlin correspondent reports: "The Kaiser is known to be rather disappointed at the fact that, although he gave every proof of goodwill and friendship towards England, Germany's naval policy is still deliberately distorted by a part of the English Press, while it has nothing to say about American, French, and Russian armaments."

"Daily News," July 23rd, 1908.

Berlin correspondent states: "The various reports suggesting that Germans have been guilty of acts of espionage on the English East Coast have hitherto been taken over here in a humorous spirit. Neither in the Press, in official circles, nor, so far as there is any indication, among the general public, have they caused any feeling, although they are universally denounced as unfounded and ludicrous."

"Daily News," August 10th, 1908.

"For some time past many leaders of opinion in England have been raising a panic about Germany, and the panic does not abate. Within the past two or three months it has certainly increased, and the bugbear of Germany on the North Sea is fast becoming what the bugbear of Russia used to be on the North-west Frontier of India."

#### *There will be no War with Germany*

"Daily News," August 12th, 1908.

"*There is the old song which tells us that those who make the battles should be the only ones to fight. If, at this moment, there is nervousness in the City, the fault lies not with kings, nor with their Ministers, but with the Press. The Yellow journals seem to thirst for blood. Their leading articles would be couched in a very different strain if their titled proprietors were at any personal risk of smelling powder.*

"Alienation, if it exists, is purely temperamental. In past years we have suffered the pangs of Russophobia. Then we had a period of irritation with France. And now it seems to be the turn of Germany, though, happily, the virulence of the disease seems to be greatly abated.

"*There was no war with Russia. There was no war with France. There will be no war with Germany. The conspiracy against peace will fail.*"

"Daily News," August 24th, 1908.

"The Germanophobes are clamouring still. Nothing will content them but a four years' shipbuilding programme, financed, 'if need be,' by a loan, and of that necessity they have not the smallest doubt. . . . We are to follow the simple rule that for every battleship Germany lays down we must lay down two. *That way ruin lies.*"

#### *Zeppelin Flight of 610 miles*

"Daily News," January 1st, 1909.

"*. . . As far as national danger goes, the thing is not yet within sight. 'Dirigibles' may in the future be useful for scouting and collecting intelligence when war has once begun . . . but talk about invasion by airship or bombardment from the sky need not for a long time be considered by ourselves or any other nation.*"

"Daily News," January 11th, 1909.

"It is maintained by some of our contemporaries that Germany is struggling to regain her position of predominance in Europe such as she held more than thirty years ago. *That is not our reading of the situation.* . . . The outbursts of panic in Berlin are of much the same character as the panics about German invasion continually raised among ourselves."



"Daily News," February 5th, 1909.

"We have reason to fear that the Admiralty is pressing for authority to 'lay down' no fewer than six Dreadnoughts this year. That is a panic programme, and, taken in conjunction with the fresh concentration of our strength in the North Sea, which was announced so inopportunistically on the eve of the King's visit to Berlin, would constitute an unmistakable menace to Germany. Defence requires no such building."

"Daily News," February 9th, 1909.

"The truth is that at no period in our history—taking the political as well as the naval and military facts into account—have we been in so unassailable a position as we are at this moment when the Yellow Press is engineering a panic with wild inventions of crises in the Cabinet and resignations in the Admiralty. We are at no loss to understand these tactics. *This campaign is engineered, alike in the Press and on the stage, in order to plunge the country into absolutely ruinous expenditure, whose only purpose would be to act as a provocation to other nations.*"

"Daily News," February 27th, 1909.

"Little courage, indeed, is wanted to call for six or ten Dreadnoughts and sing 'Rule, Britannia.' But at times of excitement, when the populace has been worked up into a state of panic by the abuse and misrepresentation of the Yellow Press, the Tariff Reformers, and the natural enemies of all social progress, a good deal of the courage of conviction is required to stand against the clamour."

"Daily News," March 23rd, 1909.

"The panic is an artificial aberration, and, so far as its uglier manifestations go, it is confined chiefly to a group of newspapers ranging from the 'Times' and the 'Observer,' to the 'Daily Mail,' the 'Evening News,' the 'Globe,' and the 'Mirror,' which are all controlled by a single capitalist."

"Daily News," December 16th, 1909.

"Daily News" condemns Mr. Blatchford's articles, describing them as "*his ravings about the German danger.*" It goes on: "He—Mr. Blatchford—does, we think, really believe that the hash of half a dozen past panics which he is, daily serving up is very important indeed. He has nothing to say that has not been already said by the prophets of the Great War.

"His facts are known; his fictions are stale. Mr. Blatchford is quite ignorant about Germany."

"Daily News," March 11th, 1910.

"The commercial and industrial interdependence of the two countries—England and Germany—as

well as their vast intellectual and moral indebtedness to each other, have only to be adequately realised for warmongering and scaremongering to be appreciated as the blind wickedness which it is."

"Daily News," December 23rd, 1910.

"The Borkum case should help us to realise that, while it is probably true that the agents of Germany and other countries are active in ferreting out our military and naval secrets, *the conclusion is not less probably false than that these activities indicate a settled plan or an intention or even a desire to invade England.* . . . We have had occasion recently to point out that this country's relations with Germany are on the brink of a new epoch, and one which will be for the welfare of both States. The Borkum episode . . . will not affect the progress of a change which has everything to be recommended and nothing to be discounted."

"Daily News," December 31st, 1910.

"The brightest feature of the international situation is the imminence of an understanding between this country and Germany."

"Daily News," January 22nd, 1911.

"The impregnable common sense of both peoples has prevailed so far, as we trust it always will prevail, against feverish sensation-mongering. The armaments remain. They continue to grow, but never has the policy changed, nor will it change, that secures to this country her vital need of sea power, and the time is riper now than at any previous moment in the history of this mad rivalry for a sane adjustment. Germany desires it—nay, vitally requires it—as much as Great Britain. . . . *There is nothing left for the war-scare experts to do but follow the example of the late Prophet Baxter, and move their exploded anticipations of Armageddon on by fifteen or twenty years.*"

"Daily News," May 15th, 1911.

"We know that some English mythologists have credited Germany with an appetite for annexing British colonies, and equally some Germans have tried to keep their countrymen awake at nights by telling them that we have piratical designs on German trade and shipping; but imaginings so remote from reality are not within the reckonings of serious statesmen. . . . *Let no one any longer be tempted to think of us as two countries between whom the ordinary desire to be mutually obliging does not exist.*"

"Daily News," December 15th, 1911.

"Our policy for the last six years has moved in the opposite direction (*i.e.*, promoting cordial relations with Germany). To reach the goal universally demanded in this country, *the policy of the two*

*European camps, which Sir Edward Grey has made his gospel, must be dropped, and we must revert to the traditional English policy which was good enough for Tory or Liberal until 1906. We shall, by cultivating friendship everywhere, be released from the fear of Germany which has unnerved the Foreign Office on so many occasions when British interests were threatened in Persia, Turkey, and Morocco. We shall, too, relieve the world of the nightmare of perpetual crises and tension, and the exhaustion of ever-increasing armaments."*

"Daily News," January 6th, 1912.

"Daily News" representative interviews Lord Lonsdale on the Kaiser. Lord Lonsdale is reported to have said: "*I defy the greatest politician of the moment to prove me wrong when I say that the Germans have no earthly intention, and never had any earthly intention, of attacking England. That is not their object. . . . I am perfectly convinced that there is no greater ally, no human being more devoted to England, Englishmen, English sports, and to the English in general—so far as is consistent with the interests of his own nation—than the German Emperor."*

"Daily News," January 10th, 1912.

"*The key to Sir Edward Grey's policy is the fatal antagonism to Germany. There, and there alone, is the root of our humiliation and our impotence. The time has come to state, with a clearness which cannot be mistaken, that Sir Edward Grey as Foreign Secretary is impossible."*

"Daily News," January 13th, 1912.

"Daily News" leader says: "What is the position after six years of Sir Edward Grey? *The understanding with France has become the 'Triple Entente'; the 'Triple Entente' is pitted against the Triple Alliance; Europe is divided into opposing camps arming against one another with feverish haste, and incessantly intriguing against one another."*

"Daily News," January 25th, 1912.

"*Extravagance, appealing to panic, has become the one virtue in naval administration. Can it be said that for the larger expenditure we are at least getting a stronger feeling of security and a greater actual security? If we are to judge by the Press, which every day brings forth a new scare, the sense of security has suffered heavily. The only persons to whom our swollen naval estimates give peace of mind in all its fulness are the dealers in armaments. They are truly happy."*

"Daily News," February 5th, 1912.

"The German bogey has vanished, and even the

anti-German Press is silenced. Its occupation is gone. Germany and Great Britain are nearer to a friendly understanding than they have been for ten years. *We know that neither the Kaiser nor his people aim at aggression. It is for us on our side to give assurance that we are equally free from offensive designs."*

"Daily News," February 26, 1913.

"*Any lingering doubt that the conscriptionists have their eye on the Continent would be banished by the article of the 'Times' correspondent. The tail of it is all compact of our 'obligations'—obligations which do not exist, but which the conscriptionists are anxious to create—to act on the Continent with France and Russia against Germany. . . ."*

"Daily News," October 9th, 1913.

"*The peace of the world has been threatened for two decades by two dangers—Anglo-German tension and Franco-German tension. From intimacy of France and England these two dangers are united. Beginning with the Balkan War and its lessons, a decrease of Anglo-German tension and close association between the two countries is making itself felt."*

"Daily News," November 4th, 1913.

In an article by Sir Harry Johnson it was urged that we should cede Zanzibar to Germany: "*There remain no reasons, practical, sentimental, or strategic, why Zanzibar may not be transferred to the German Empire.*

"*The eventual transfer of Zanzibar to Germany is as inevitable as is a similar transfer to the same Power of Walfisch Bay, the natural port of German South-West Africa.*

"In every way the complete adjustment of British and German colonial ambitions and interests is to be desired, as a step towards that complete and perfect understanding between the two great nations which, I venture to predict, will be followed by a Franco-German understanding."

"Daily News," November 19th, 1913.

"The measure of the Navy's demands upon the public purse is now Mr. Churchill's fancy and Mr. Churchill's rhetoric. The only contribution made by the Government towards a lessening of the waste in armaments has been various proposals for restriction by international agreement."

"Daily News," November 26th, 1913.

"Mr. Churchill's forecast of another big increase in the Naval Estimates has strained the loyalty of the Liberal Party to the breaking point. That strain is not lessened by the repetition of an 'offer' to



Germany which is regarded as, at least, equivocal. On the other hand, it is gravely aggravated by the wholly reactionary and indefensible proposal to arm merchantmen. *This is a step back into paths of barbarism.*"

"Daily News," December 27th, 1913.

"The year is closing with a clearer European sky than we have seen for many years. The improvement in our relations with Germany has passed from the negative to a positive stage. And it is not only Anglo-German relations which have undergone a change for the better. There is a strong movement towards reconciliation between France and Germany."

"Daily News," February 4th, 1914.

*"The swollen Navy Estimates—which, if our Jingoës have their way, will soon be paralleled by swollen Army Estimates—have had and are continuing to have a fourfold effect: they have prevented the abolition of taxes on consumption; they have led to heavier taxation; they have postponed or vetoed urgent reforms; and they have become a menace to the Constitution."*

"Daily News," March 18th, 1914.

"Daily News" leader expresses the wish that the Government had abolished the capture of private property at sea, and continues: "We had hoped, also, that the mischievous arming of merchantmen would have been frankly abandoned. The scheme is merely laughable viewed as a defensive expedient, and it is deplorably reactionary from the point of view of its real purpose. *It is piracy, and nothing more.* While we set the example in these *mediæval directions*, what hope is there for checking the *'rush into barbarism'* under which all Europe is groaning?"

"Daily News," April 21st, 1914.

*"It cannot be too emphatically stated that, so far as the dominant sentiment of this country is concerned, there is no intention to allow our friendship with France to be interpreted into hostility to any other country. If that were done it would mean that this country would be finally and irrevocably committed to Continental militarism, and that the aims of the conscriptionists would be accomplished. The division of Europe into two armed camps would be accomplished, and the reactionaries in France, already lifting their heads again for the first time since the Dreyfus overthrow, would receive an overwhelming impulse in reviving the policy of 'Revenge.' The conversion of the Entente into an alliance would, in a word, make war inevitable, and it would be a war in which we should have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Against such a menace the Liberal Party will set its face like a flint."*

## THE NATION

"The Speaker" (afterwards "The Nation"), October 27th, 1906.

*"We have repeatedly expressed our opinion of the shoddy patriotism of the Blue Funk School, and have repeatedly shown that there is not the slightest element of reality in the German bogey, which so terrifies the little Nelsons of the Press."*

*"Anything more un-British than the attitude which has been taken up by the 'Navy League Journal,' etc., etc., and the 'Daily Mail' would be difficult to conceive."*

"The Nation," February 29th, 1908.

"Germany and England never had a good material cause of quarrel; the provoking elements have been largely temper and jealousy at large. It is the writers, not the sailors, who have largely poisoned the Anglo-German situation."

"The Nation," March 14th, 1908.

"The perils of the situation are not material; they are moral. They reside in the levity and falseness of a section of the Press who continually stoke up the feeling that finds its material expression in new armaments, and the manner in which the Conservative Party, under Mr. Balfour's direction, is heading straight for war with Germany."

"The Nation," January 16th, 1909.

"England declares that Germany is aiming at hegemony. The answer is the tightening of a ring around her. Germany perceives that the ring is closing around her, and she attempts by more than one violent movement, partly in anger but more in fear, to break through it. *The more she struggles to free herself from the circle, the more do our own Jingoës interpret her movements as a restless effort to bully Europe and disturb its peace.*"

"The Nation," February 6th, 1909.

*"If the tension continues, the chances are that on the hazard of the next election we shall stake the future of European peace. A Tory Government would have behind it the Navy alarmist, the deliberate Jingo schools, and the pressure of classes which might see in war a means of competing with the commercial rivalry of Germany. If Liberalism cannot remove this problem, it is hardly likely that Toryism would even attempt or desire to solve it."*

"The Nation," March 27th, 1909.

*"The idea of a German invasion is suited to no world but that of the melodrama. . . . An Anglo German War, if we were to base our forecast on th*

realities of the situation, would seem almost equally improbable."

"The Nation," April 17th, 1909.

"Therefore, in spite of German and British Jingoism, who quote each other's articles, feed each other's panics, and debit the cost to their respective Treasuries, there will be no such 'struggle' as the 'Spectator' imagines. On our side, the Liberal and Labour Parties, on the German side Social Democracy, with its twenty per cent. of soldiers in the German Army, will stop both it and the growth of European armaments."

"The Nation," July 3rd, 1909.

"In Germany, as with us, the shriekers are always the shirkers. The moral force of the War Party is broken when the war-makers proclaim themselves ready to smash their Governments rather than subscribe to War Budgets."

"The Nation," December 18th, 1909.

"It would seem as if Mr. Blatchford's rhetoric had answered itself. His facts in the half-dozen cases where they are even alleged fall into the same category of self-accusation."

"The Nation," January 1st, 1910.

*"The suggestion which Mr. Blatchford puts so crudely and with such grotesque show of altruism, that it is our duty to undertake the defence of France, only approaches practical politics if we assume that Germany contemplates a wanton attack on a good neighbour. Such an adventure would obviously be a menace to Europe and an offence to our common civilisation. But this is an academic question. Germany has no interest, no motive, to tempt her to so crazy an adventure."*

"The Nation," July 9th, 1910.

"A case for an understanding with Germany. What stops us from entering it? The French Alliance? France, eager for the Entente, drew back in alarm from the furious and insulting Jingoism of last year's 'scare,' and has long seen in our excessive anti-Germanism a danger to her own peace and European stability."

#### **The Borkum Arrests**

"The Nation," September 3rd, 1910.

"As soon as the arrests were made the 'Daily Mail' produced the first of a series of articles by a

correspondent, Mr. Maxwell. Mr. Maxwell's thesis is not perfectly clear to us. But it seems to be that as Emden is building a new dock and Borkum a double 'promenade' after the classic model of Yarmouth and Margate, and 'little barracks for artillerymen,' with the unfamiliar caution 'Verboten' written over them, and as he has also discovered a tiny branch railway a few miles to the south of the main-line from Cologne to Aix-la-Chapelle to Liège and Brussels, and there connecting the German and Belgian frontiers, Germany is in a fair way to annul the independence of Belgium and Holland, to annex the Dutch ports, and to use Flushing as a new pistol pointed to the heart of England."

#### **Dutch Defences**

"The Nation," December 31st, 1910.

"The Dutch must necessarily desire to protect themselves from any exploitation from either side. Their weakness might tempt either belligerent, and a Dutch correspondent explains the motive of the coast defences in this way in the 'Times.' The fortification of Flushing, in such a way as to command the channel of the Scheldt and the approach to Antwerp, can only be meant to prevent this country (which has, with France, a right to protect the neutrality of Belgium) if a belligerent Power should occupy its territory in time of war, from landing troops at Antwerp. It is this item in the Dutch scheme which lends colour to the suggestion that Holland is reluctantly acting under German pressure, and that she has ranged herself in some sense as a semi-attached auxiliary to the German Emperor. . . . For our part, we cannot bring ourselves to treat the danger seriously."

"The Nation," February 11th, 1911.

"Secret diplomacy has led inevitably to disingenuous armaments. The whole basis of such a position is anti-Democratic and anti-Liberal. If a convention with France exists, and, oral or written, it clearly does exist, the House of Commons, if it has any regard for its rights in the control of policy, should press for knowledge of the facts."

"The Nation," October 21st, 1911.

"What concerns us is that the system of alliances into which we have been drawn by the fear of Germany is the very source of whatever danger threatens us from Germany. Germany is embittered against us, because she finds us in her way. But we block her way to serve no interest of our own. We are serving the interest of others, and, if we confine ourselves to our own affairs, our power would appear to the Germans no longer either as an obstacle or as a menace."



"The Nation," November 25th, 1911.

"On the one hand, we witness and abet the acquisition of a vast territory by military and diplomatic action of the most aggressive type. On the other, we roughly call a great Empire to task because one German vessel casts anchor in an obscure African port to which not a single European Power has any territorial right or pretension."

"The Nation," December 2nd, 1911.

"Under Sir Edward Grey's direction, Liberal statesmanship has diverged . . . and has developed only the exclusive and menacing point of our association with France. The Entente in his hands has not brought England and Germany together; it has torn them violently apart. It has produced the Europe of the two camps and has put the balancing sword in England's hand."

"The Nation," January 15th, 1912.

"Russia has not served us in our efforts to maintain a balance in Europe against the German Power, or if at one time she served us that time is ended. The whole policy of the balance has failed, and left us with the alternative of forming a military alliance with France or else of making terms with Germany."

"The Nation," May 25th, 1912.

"To the student of affairs who has understood something of the aims and thoughts of Real-Politik, it is a much more probable suspicion that in all these years the underlying thought of German policy has been to break down the fictitious barrier which excluded German enterprise from the use of French capital. It is not, fairly regarded, a dangerous or an anti-European aim."

"The Nation," June 1st, 1912.

"We desire the continuance of the most friendly and most confidential relations with France, but we see no reason why the military association, which arose with the Moroccan struggle, should survive its settlement. . . . *Germany does not desire to coerce France for the pleasure of being brutal; she does not seek to break the Anglo-French combination from a mere lust of power, or from a love of mischief.*"

"The Nation," July 27th, 1912.

"There is no 'German peril,' though it is clear there is always to be a German scare. *The German Fleet neither was, nor is, nor will be, in a condition to threaten these shores or to conduct an offensive naval war against this country.*"

"The Nation," October 19th, 1912.

Sir J. T. Brunner's letter finds "the central mischief of our foreign policy in the perversion of our

welcome friendship with France into a dangerous entanglement, which has spoiled our relations with Germany. *He would make it clear that our relations with France imply no misunderstanding or intention 'as to military or naval action against any other Power.'*"

"The Nation," December 7th, 1912.

"Lord Roberts's scheme is in itself an insult to a nation that already offers to the State, in one form or another, the services of over a million men in arms. But it is more than anything else a plot for the destruction of Liberalism, and for the abolition of civil freedom, and as such it will be resisted and destroyed."

"The Nation," April 18th, 1914.

"Our own feud with Germany is no longer acute. We are in a position which invites constructive effort, and calls for the work of meditation."

#### MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

"Manchester Guardian," March 8th, 1906.

In a leader the "Manchester Guardian" questioned the need of a naval base at Rosyth: "The scheme of the late Government is suspect for several reasons. The Liberal Government will find it necessary to restrain by every means in its power the growing prejudice against Germany, and it cannot afford to give sanction to any scheme that seems to give it official body."

"Manchester Guardian," June 11th, 1906.

"The Entente Cordiale is not a union for peace, but a union for aggression."

"Manchester Guardian," August 1st, 1906.

"There is a section of the Press here and in France—in both countries, be it remarked—the Press of an Imperialistic minority which has been shattered at the recent elections, which seeks to convert the Entente Cordiale into an unfriendly alliance against Germany. Its motives are difficult to appreciate . . . it is a type which thinks in terms of hate. *It is the instinctive and natural co-operation of these journals on either side of the Channel which is creating the legend of a sinister Kaiser and a menacing Germany.*"

"Manchester Guardian," November 16th, 1906.

" . . . . If the Entente Cordiale is treated as the base of offensive operations against a third Power, and there is a noisy section of the English and

French Press which deliberately advocates this course, then it will be in the highest degree pernicious and a peril to the peace of Europe. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," April 29th, 1907.

"There seems to be another little outbreak in Berlin and London of morbid rubbish about the inevitability of a war some day between England and Germany. Perhaps the immediate occasion this time was a cock-and-bull story circulated the other day about an alliance between England and Spain. An alliance between England and Monaco is about as likely, but the rumour was enough to set goose calling unto goose across the North Sea. The worst of it is that even an exchange of ugly names between the Yellow Presses of two countries has another aspect besides that of bad farce. In England and Germany alike there is a small party, mostly made up of very bitter enemies of internal improvement in its own country, which does seriously and continuously wish and strive to procure a war between the two countries, the peoples of which have not the slightest ill-will, nor cause of ill-will, against each other. England as well as Germany has her school of physical force Tories who think a hard foreign war now and then an excellent cleanser of a nation's blood from such impurities as the craving of the rural labourer for land and of the urban labourer for decent housing, whenever such appetites become so strong as to menace the quiet of him who, generally speaking, hath. This strain of deliberate malignity, helped by the mere sensation-monger's eagerness to have something exciting to sell, whether true or false, might really poison to some extent the relations of the two countries, unless the overwhelming majority of decent people and patriotic citizens in each put their heel upon such mischief whenever they notice it."

"Manchester Guardian," July 4th, 1907.

" . . . There is nothing in the relations between England and France in any way standing between cordial co-operation between England and Germany to preserve the 'Open Door,' whether in Morocco or Persia, or in any other part of the world. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," October 11th, 1907.

"There have been signs recently of an approach of more cordial relations between our own and the German Governments, and the visit of the Emperor William to England ought, in the normal course, to stimulate this tendency. Those international fire-brands on this side of the North Sea, however, to whom friendship between England and Germany is the greatest of misfortunes, are now actively engaged in preventing such a consummation. The 'Times' lends itself to this work with the readiest of zeal."

"Manchester Guardian," March 3rd, 1908.

" . . . On its success in ultimately ending military and naval expenditure the future of Liberalism will largely depend. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," May 29th, 1908.

" . . . The Englishman who would use France as a catspaw in his own quarrel, if he has one, with Germany is, whether he knows it or not, a treacherous friend. . . . *If our understanding with France is directed explicitly or implicitly against Germany, it brings not peace, but a sword; it is treachery to our friendship, and it will ultimately commit us, for very shame, either to the conscription recommended by the 'Temps,' or to the useless sacrifice, under some military convention or other, of one or two British army corps on the Continent of Europe. . . .*"

"Manchester Guardian," June 17th, 1908.

" . . . The Kaiser believes that strong armaments are the best guarantee of peace. In holding that view he does not stand alone; it is a heresy that he shares with men like President Roosevelt, M. Clemenceau, and a host of politicians in all countries, England included. *It is not a doctrine that is sympathetic to Liberal minds, but held as sincerely as it is by the Kaiser, and fortified by twenty years of action, it is a very different thing from Jingoism or bellicosity, and we do not think anything more unlikely, so long as William II. is Emperor, than that the breach of European peace should come from Germany.*"

"Manchester Guardian," July 4th, 1908.

"The best possible way of removing misunderstanding is to have an understanding. Can it seriously be maintained that whereas there is material for an understanding with so many countries, there is none for an understanding between England and Germany, the two Powers which are in most need of it? We do not believe it. It is true that there are no outstanding territorial subjects of contention, and that the discontents between the two countries are mainly psychological, which are with difficulty composed by settlement in writing. But it is abundantly clear that there are opportunities enough for misunderstanding. For the Governments to do nothing is to do the most dangerous thing of all—to leave the field in the possession of the hot-heads and mischief-makers.

*"An understanding with Germany, then, is the first duty of a Liberal Government in foreign politics—the thing of all others which is most worth doing. It cannot be a settlement of territorial difficulties, because there are none to settle. But it might well be a commercial understanding, or an understanding on some questions of naval policy."*



"Manchester Guardian," July 22nd, 1908.

" . . . Germany, though the most military of nations, is probably the least warlike. . . . "

"Manchester Guardian," August 15th, 1908.

"The attitude of England and Germany towards one another is to-day the hinge upon which the world's peace turns. *All our understandings and alliances with other Powers cannot guarantee the world's peace—rather they tend to imperil it—so long as Germany is excluded from them and the relations with us are marked by distrust and tension.* Foreign policy and domestic policy cannot be separated. If there is perpetual unrest, involving ruinous competition in armaments, social reform will be mutilated or wholly suspended. Mr. Lloyd George insists that an entente with Germany must be reached if the world's peace is to be preserved, and ourselves to be at liberty to make the lot of the English citizen tolerable."

"Manchester Guardian," August 21st, 1908.

"Now that the talk about our having to fight Germany is dying down, two or three things are seen to have been proved by it all. *The first is that we and Germany have nothing to fight about.* Everything whatever that has to do with war must have been mentioned in the last few days, except a *casus belli*.

. . . Our own wild men have not said that there is even the slightest pending dispute with Germany anywhere in the world. It was to be a war without a dispute. *And as we ourselves, being sane, do not insist on fighting wars without disputes, nothing was left but to suppose that Germans are insane, and do.* Accordingly we are asked to believe that Germany is about to attack our greatly superior Navy with her own greatly inferior Navy, because she thinks the proceeding good business. If a man can really believe that, and has not had his case tabulated in the recent Report on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, the inquiry, one would think, cannot have been exhaustive. And yet it is not enough merely to dismiss such fancies as madness. For in Germany, too, they are common. There, as here, it is not a rare hallucination to imagine that England is at this moment preparing to fall, unprovoked, upon Germany, and destroy as much of her Navy as we can. . . .

"We have seen in England lately how much terror, how many solemn warnings, how much heroic straining of party ties, may be occasioned by one tall cock-and-bull story—the notorious myth of the 200,000 German soldiers hurried on to transports—or was it one transport?—and hurried off again, a manifest rehearsal of an invasion of England. Well, Germans have the myopic faculty, too, and for every German staff officer or cartographer whom our sen-

sational Press discovers sucking in British military secrets with both ears at City chop-houses and suburban barbers' shops, the Teutonic form of the modern genius for newspaper hysteria manages to produce some terrific counterpart. Thus the timid and credulous among Germans, and the timid and credulous among Englishmen, are like Viola and Aguecheek in the play, so fooled into 'a most hideous opinion of the rage, fury, and impetuosity' of each other that, for sheer panic, they are ready to 'kill one another by the look, like cockatrices.'

" . . . Neither the German Admiralty nor the German Treasury can really wish to observe experimentally the relative effects of an exchange of three English shots for two German shots: Neither Bradford nor Hamburg really wishes to be half ruined. Everything that is ballasted, that can use its eyes, that can put thought for thought in either country, hates the idea of a war between them. *And yet the blusterings, the cock-and-bull stories, the bandying of abuse, have only to go on long enough, and gradually one of the sane after another will be led away by the feeling that surely there must be something behind so much hullabaloo, or perhaps blackmailed into connivance at mischief by the mischievous person's common trick of impugning the patriotism of all who deprecate mischief-making.* We cannot, then, afford simply to leave blatancy and hysteria to die out of themselves, and the question is: what can be done to cause the political relations of England and Germany, on the whole, to correspond more to the wishes of sane and patriotic Englishmen and of the corresponding Germans, and less to the impulsive of the emotional perverts of the two countries?"

"Manchester Guardian," October 21st, 1908.

"There is some madness working somewhere, that so many Englishmen should misread the Kaiser's protestations of friendship to this country, repeated this week in the remarkable interview published by the 'Daily Telegraph.' He is being accused of a deliberate attempt to estrange England from France, and to make us false to our treaty obligations. *Here, in little compass, is the arch-heresy of our foreign politics—that we cannot be friends with France without being cross with Germany.* There is far more truth in the contrary proposition, that we cannot be true to France so long as we make our understanding with her the occasion for a misunderstanding with Germany. Worked on this basis the present Entente with France cannot possibly be permanent, because she stands to lose by it. *In any quarrel with Germany the dice are weighted against France, for while the Alliance would easily be supreme at sea, on land, where the struggle would be fought, our assistance is almost worthless.*

"The plain meaning of the whole interview is that the Kaiser has a genuine, impulsive regard for

England, and is sincerely anxious to be on good terms with us. It is always ungracious to peck out a heart because it is worn on a sleeve, and in politics it is usually folly. There is not so much friendliness in the world that any nation should refuse it when it is offered. Surely, when the Kaiser offers it, it is at any rate worth listing?"

"Manchester Guardian," April 26th, 1909.

(From a Berlin Correspondent, April 21st)

"The friends of Anglo-German friendship are in a difficult position. Scarcely is one 'question' removed when another arises, with unpleasant and alarming controversy in its train. You have your firebrands and we have ours, and while yours are declaring that in Germany we think and speak of nothing but an invasion of England, our alarmists are convinced that every political development the world over is directly connected with plans by Great Britain to isolate Germany.

"At the present time it is the news from Turkey that gives occasion for the most alarming reports. Of course, some English newspapers have declared that German influence is in some way supporting the movement pointed against the Young Turks. That is foolish, though there is no doubt that the Young Turks' success has not been welcome to the Conservative German Government. But even if some English newspapers are creating a German policy which has no existence in fact, there is no reason why the Germans should be guilty of similar foolishness and maintain that English money and English influence are responsible for the coup d'état of the Liberal Union and the priests, and discern behind it all an intrigue against Germany."

"Manchester Guardian," May 26th, 1909.

"... The difficulty between England and Germany is purely psychological. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," June 12th, 1909.

"... Nine men out of ten who believe in the German scare are mere sentimentalists in politics. . . ."

"... There are Englishmen who like to play with their ideas of war; Germany does not play with it. . . ."

"... Does the understanding involve military co-operation with France under certain circumstances, and if so, under what circumstances? . . . In other words, was the Entente an agreement with France which was not in any way pointed against Germany, or did this country, in concluding it definitely, indicate that under certain circumstances it might be considered an ally of the Dual as against the Triple Alliance?"

"Manchester Guardian," June 24th, 1909.

"The plain fact is that an understanding with Russia is more or less a political luxury, whereas an understanding with Germany is an absolute necessity. There are many causes of the present unrest, but all, in the mind of the average German, are summed up in one suspicion—that our policy is directed towards the isolation of Germany in Europe.

"We call it 'maintaining the balance of power' in Europe."

"Manchester Guardian," December 20th, 1909.

"Ever since Mr. Blatchford offered to write scare articles on Germany for the 'Daily Mail,' he has displaced Mr. Garvin, of the 'Observer,' as the leader of Conservative policy. They are all content to follow him—Mr. Lyttelton, Lord Cromer, Lord Cawdor, Lord Milner, and even Mr. Garvin himself. Or is it the truth that Mr. Blatchford is following the peers, not the peers Mr. Blatchford? It is hard to say. On the one hand is the loudly proclaimed fact that Mr. Blatchford is writing simply as a patriot, without stipulation as to price; on the other hand is the fact that the present agitation is simply a reversion to the agitation last April. Inspiration in the Conservative Party is singularly unanimous and well drilled. Last April they were all anti-Germans and patriots, presently they all talked dukes, then they all tried beer as being more popular, then it was 'Protection,' and now it is patriotism again.

"But deliberately to rake the fires of hell for votes, as these people are doing, is an act of political depravity that no party extremity can excuse. Can these people really believe all that they pretend to believe about Germany?"

"There is another feature of this agitation which would make a patriot ashamed. If the Liberals were in opposition and believed in this German scare, what would be said of them if they seized the opportunity to publish extracts from the South African War Commission? But what the agitators are doing is infinitely more offensive. The whole agitation is based on the assumption that the Tory Party is the only party which has the will or the capacity to manage foreign affairs with prudence, to avoid war that is not necessary to our honour and safety, to prepare for war that may be, and to conduct with success a war that has become unavoidable. Such an assumption does not cease to be an insult because it has become a sort of convention with those who made it, or an insult more forgivable because it is so tragically and shamefully contradicted by recent history. We have searched the writings of the alarmists in vain for any new or relevant fact that would justify the revival of an agitation that failed so completely only a few months ago.

"Mr. Blatchford, more original than his imitators,



has succeeded in finding one new reason for alarm, though he kept us waiting for it till his sixth article. It is this: 'The problem of British defence is the defence of France.' Think of it. We are to submit to Protection, to the overthrow of the House of Commons and the infliction of a deadly blow to popular liberties, to Conscription, and all for what? To defend the soil of France from invasion. Are there, then, no Frenchmen left that, at a time of crisis in English internal affairs such as we have not had for nearly eighty years, we must cease to think of our own country's happiness and declare France to be a British Protectorate?"

"Manchester Guardian," December 24th, 1909.

"We objected first to the underlying assumption that Liberals were less anxious for national safety than Conservatives, less willing to make any necessary sacrifices, and less capable of taking the right means. In the second place we objected to such questions as the maintenance of our national security and of our relations with friendly Powers being raised for base party uses. They were raised with the object of throwing dust in the eyes of the people, and of distracting attention from the domestic attack on their political liberties. In a word, except on the monstrous supposition that Liberals were indifferent to national safety, they were irrelevant, and irrelevancy in such a crisis is one of the worst and most dangerous of political offences."

"Manchester Guardian," January 29th, 1910.

"The commercial rivalry of England and Germany is the most fanciful and irrelevant of reasons for political quarrelling and war. . . . Germany wants a fleet, not to dispute our supremacy, but to protect her legitimate interests. . . . It is a great leap from the idea of a fleet adequate for defence against the strongest naval power, to the idea of a fleet designed for aggression and offence, and the whole history of German naval ambitions since 1900 contains not a single fact to warrant it. We believe the German Ambassador's declaration yesterday, that the German Navy does not aim at the supremacy of the seas, and is designed simply for the defence of legitimate German interests."

"Manchester Guardian, July 20th, 1910.

"The Jingo journalists, then, are frightening us with resurrected bogeys from the Napoleonic days. A hundred years ago the Napoleonic power was a menace to national independence; but now, even supposing that the naval power of Germany were destined to attain the same preponderance at sea as her armies on land, what use could she put it to? Not to destroy our independence; why, annexation itself, if Protectionist Jingoism are to be consistent with their own arguments, by bringing England

within the fiscal system of Germany, would increase our power to compete with her manufacturers and be a positive disadvantage to her. Or to annex our colonies? One Spanish war ruined Napoleon, and this would credit Germany with the insanity of wanting a dozen. Or to enforce some object of her foreign policy which would injure England? She might insist on the principle of the 'open door,' or she might build a railway to Bagdad; or she might succeed to the old position of Russia in relation to Turkey; but not one of these results would injure us. It is one of the paradoxes of our policy towards Germany that we have actually been quarrelling with Germany for asserting principles of policy which were naturally ours but which we unnaturally deserted."

"Manchester Guardian," August 30th, 1910.

" . . . An attempt has been made to turn the arrests at Emden to purposes of political mischief. The very fact that presumably innocent men were suspected, it is said, shows that Germany has something to conceal. And then follows the counter-charge of attempted political assassination by means of a pistol that is to be presented at our heads through Holland. The evidence of the plot is woefully scanty, but is perhaps worth examining, for national sanity is an element of national strength, and the accusations against Germany of having designs on the Low Countries is, in one form or another, constantly being made. Borkum is an island lying off the entrance to the Dollart, an arm of the sea which divides Germany from Holland. It is a sea-side resort much visited from Emden, the German town at the head of the Dollart. The known facts are that a mole is being constructed at Borkum to form a safe anchorage behind it; that defensive works are in preparation all along the sand dunes between it and Emden, and that at Emden large sums of money have been spent in making a new harbour.

"These works, it is suggested, are designed against the independence or, at any rate, the neutrality of Holland in war-time; and by way of additional evidence reference is made to a letter quoted by a diplomatist in the Dutch Parliament, and said to have been written by the German Emperor to Queen Wilhelmina, urging Holland to strengthen her defences against possible attacks by Great Britain, and hinting that unless Holland did so he would be compelled to take measures of his own. The fortifications at Emden, presumably, are the 'measure of his own.' The belief that these facts are meant as a menace to Holland depends entirely on the supposition that the German Emperor's fears of an attack on Germany from the side of Holland are so absurd to oneself; but apart from military reasons altogether, Germany has some pretty obvious motives

for wishing to develop Emden as a port. Both Holland and Belgium derive a great part of their wealth from German trade. What is more natural than that Germany should seek to divert the traffic of Mülhåusen, Westphalia, and the Rhine provinces from Dutch to German ports? In so far as she could succeed in doing so she would remove the temptation in war-time to tamper with the neutrality of Antwerp and Rotterdam, and so would strengthen the independence of the Low Countries. There is no necessary proof in all this of a design on their political independence. On the contrary, it is arguable that the very attempt to make Germany independent of them invalidates the reasons usually given for supposing that she would desire to annex them.

"But to return to the naval arguments, is it so very inconceivable that, in the event of a war between Germany and England, an attack might be delivered on Germany from the side of Holland? An interesting answer to that question is offered in a book written by 'A French Staff Officer' on 'The English Invasion of Germany,' a sequel to a pamphlet in which the same writer argues against the possibility of a German invasion of England. In his new pamphlet he argues that, though the fears of a German invasion of England are chimerical, an English invasion of Germany, directed according to his plans, might have some prospect of success. And on page 48 he singles out Borkum and Emden as the weakest points in the German defences.

"As a description of English designs the whole passage may well be dismissed as absurd. But as an analysis of a strategical problem it is interesting, and it may explain a certain German expenditure in fortifying a port that Germans are anxious to develop for commercial reasons. A rational inference from the works at Borkum and Emden is that Germany is anxious to strengthen herself at a strategically weak point. We may well regret for her taxpayers' sake that her rulers should think this expenditure necessary, and for our sake, too, we must regret that our policy should incur suspicions which we feel to be unwarranted. *But the best practical thing we can do in such a case is to place our own policy as clear above sane suspicion as is humanly possible, and not to repay fantastic German suspicions of us with equally fantastic suspicions of Germany.*"

"Manchester Guardian," January 31st, 1911.

"When public opinion is set on war, no Government, it is said, can withstand it. It ought to be possible for public opinion in favour of peace to be just as powerful. And so it might be if it were properly informed and educated. *But the war passion grows almost of itself; it feeds on ignorance and prejudice, qualities with which we are all equipped at starting.* To remove these is the proper work of

peace societies, which will find an equally wide field of labour in Germany and England. In neither country are the great masses of people hostile to each other, but they have only a partial knowledge of the facts; and, even if their knowledge were greater, their power of making their influence felt is at present only small."

#### The Kaiser's Visit

"Manchester Guardian," May 15th, 1911.

"The occasion of the visit is interesting, because it reminds one of a former visit at the time of Queen Victoria's funeral. His noble bearing at that time won the admiration of the London crowds, and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his wish that his country should be on friendly terms with England now, at the unveiling of Victoria's memorial, than there was at her funeral. The coolness towards Germany here is of less than ten years' date, and a growth so recent cannot obliterate the memories of a century's sympathy and co-operation. *Even the faults of the Kaiser, we think, are on our side. In German policy there is often an affection of coldness, bluntness, and even cynicism; but the Kaiser, as his visit to England show; now, is a man of quick sympathy and lively sentiment.*

"And therefore we welcome the Kaiser to-day, not only as a fine figure of a king, but also because he brings to England the chance of doing a good turn to the peace of the world."

"Manchester Guardian," October 10th, 1911.

"Now that the crisis between France and Germany is to all appearance past, a very serious question remains to be asked. *Why was it everywhere assumed during the negotiations that if war had broken out we should have taken part in it?* This assumption came out quite plainly even in a speech so clear of offence as that of Mr. Churchill a week ago. He need not have mentioned the strength of our Navy at all in connection with the negotiations about Morocco unless he believed that failure in them would have brought England as well as France to the brink of war with Germany. And this is taken for granted, as though it were some axiom of the general European situation. Was ever so tremendous an assumption made with so little apparent ground and with so little attempt, we do not say to justify, but even to explain it? *Grant, what is certainly not true, that a fortified German naval base at Agadir would have justified us in going to war.* It would only be one reason the more for not allowing so deadly an issue to depend solely on negotiations conducted by France.

"Manchester Guardian," December 20th, 1911.

"Now that the Morocco trouble is over, what obligation remains? What should prevent England



and Germany from concluding a friendship parallel with that between us and France? . . . The one fact that emerges is that Alsace-Lorraine prevents real friendship between France and Germany, and that while that question remains we cannot be really friends with Germany without risking our friendship with France. It comes to this, then, that we are not free to form friendship because of a crime committed forty years ago by Germany. This will never do. Nearly every Englishman sympathises with France in the loss of the two provinces, but that fact is ceasing to be the pivot even of French policy; and it would be ridiculous to make it the pivot of our own.

"There must be reciprocity in all friendships; and while the friendship of France is well worth having for its own sake, we must not be asked to undertake great risks on its behalf without some show of compensating advantages. But of these there is no sign. We are sometimes asked to forgo the freedom of forming new friendships, and to be prepared to take the side of the Dual Alliance in the event of war, but no one has ever suggested that France and Russia would be prepared to take our side in any and every dispute we might have with Germany. The conditions are not equal. We are already heavy losers by the quarrel with Germany."

"Manchester Guardian," January 6th, 1912

"The obstacles to a cordial friendship between France and Germany, if they exist at all, are . . . very small."

"Manchester Guardian," June 13th, 1912.

" . . . A Mediterranean naval alliance would be indistinguishable to the eyes of other nations from a general alliance. We should become the third member of a new Triple Alliance. That is the chief danger in our politics. . . . The cause of peace for the next generation is bound up with the defeat of the project of alliance, and there is no interest so great that it must not be subordinated to that end."

"Manchester Guardian," September 13th, 1912.

In a leader the "Guardian" suggested the "Impachment" of the Ministers who were responsible for bringing into being the naval Triple Alliance. This was when the French Navy went to Toulouse.

"Manchester Guardian," October 28th, 1912.

" . . . The agitation against Germany in this country is wholly sentimental. Lord Roberts is perhaps the greatest sentimentalist of them all."

"Manchester Guardian," Jan. 14th, 1913.

" . . . And, with all his desire for a strong fleet, he is probably the best friend that England has among

the rulers of Europe. . . . The Kaiser, most Englishmen feel, even when they have least sympathy with his opinions, is a man whose friendship is to be trusted, incapable of treachery, and warm in his affections.

"Manchester Guardian," Jan. 28th, 1913.

" . . . The Kaiser is none the less a peacemaker, and what is more, he has worked for good relations with England at times when it would have been easier for him to let things drift. Happily, the prospects of friendship are now brighter, and no small share for the honour for this improvement must be given to the Kaiser and his perfectly genuine desire to maintain the old tradition of friendship with England. . . ."

#### DAILY GRAPHIC.

In the pages of the "Daily Graphic" is to be found the sad spectacle of a responsible Conservative paper covering the Kaiser and the Crown Prince with the most fulsome flattery. The following extracts read as if they were inspired by the German Foreign Office, so abject is the tone in which they approach the Kaiser. It is also to be noticed that the vaunted German culture is in these selections not only introduced to the British Public, but it is also held up as the predominant trait of the German Royal Family and admired to a degree which late events have shown to be somewhat unwarranted.

#### Lord Tweedmouth and the Kaiser

"Daily Graphic," March 7th, 1908.

"For our part we do not believe that the German Emperor could be guilty of so treacherous a machination against this country, apart from the bucolic simplicity and gaucherie of the methods employed. The German Emperor has been done a very grave injustice." The article proceeds: "His Majesty—i.e., the Kaiser—is most anxious to establish a friendly and durable understanding with this country, and we believe we are correct in saying that he recognises that some arrangement in regard to the naval policies of the two Governments would powerfully serve this end."

"The Daily Graphic," March 10th, 1908.

" . . . It must, we think, be recognised that a wrong has been done the German Emperor for which some reparation should be made. There can be no question that the charge preferred against his Majesty was one of the utmost gravity. It was a charge amounting to dishonourable and, indeed, treacherous conduct, and we feel sure that those who made it will see instinctively that it ought to be frankly and unreservedly withdrawn.

"Daily Graphic," March 25th, 1908.

"We are glad to have Prince Bülow's emphatic assurance that the German naval programme has only a defensive end in view, and that the German people 'wish to live in quiet and peace with England.' If this assurance is as sincere as we believe it to be, there ought to be no difficulty in discovering for it a corollary which would go a long way towards ending 'the reckless and malicious polemic' by which the cordiality of Anglo-German relations is now menaced. We in this country do not dispute Germany's right to an adequate fleet for defensive purposes; Germany, Prince Bülow tells us, has no wish to challenge our two-power standard. Surely here are the elements of a definite naval understanding?"

"Daily Graphic," May 28th, 1908.

"There seems to be an idea in some quarters—chiefly journalistic—that this strengthening process may be best secured by a formal treaty of alliance (with France), with its due complement of military and naval conventions. We are afraid this suggestion is not one which will commend itself to the best intelligence of either country. In the first place, a formal alliance is not necessary. There is no enemy in view, even distantly or hypothetically, and practical statesmen do not waste their time in providing against imaginary perils."

"Daily Graphic, June 16th, 1908.

"Personally, we believe the Emperor to be a good friend of this country. The evidence of it is not difficult to find if we approach the question of Anglo-German relations in a spirit of fairness and impartiality. . . . But the German Emperor has not only been a friend of this country, he has also been a mainstay of European peace. . . . With it all the Emperor is a great Sovereign, a splendid type of German culture and patriotism, and a towering personality on the world's stage. He has the respect of the whole world, and we are confident that he will leave nothing undone to retain it."

"Daily Graphic," July 15th, 1908.

"German newspapers are making hugely merry over the attack of 'Spionitis' from which a section of our gullible public are just now suffering. . . . Were the affliction confirmed to our yellow newspapers and navy-blue reviews we should feel disposed to laugh with our Teuton friends; but it has spread extensively, and one cannot enter a drawing-room or join a dinner-party without hearing the most fearsome stories of the legion of spies the Kaiser is naively alleged to have let loose on this once happy land. It is, of course, very foolish, but it is also not a little disturbing. It shows that the German bogey is getting badly on our nerves. We are not sure that it does not point to a certain deterioration of national character."

"Daily Graphic," November 2nd, 1903.

*In a leader on this day the "Daily Graphic" refers to the "constitutional correctitude, which his critics are too fond of denying him," of the German Emperor.*

This statement, in view of the Kaiser's subsequent references to "scraps of paper," is interesting.

"Daily Graphic," November 11th, 1908.

"In both countries (i.e., England and Germany) there is a small knot of assiduous mischief-makers, and a very large amount of exaggerated sensitiveness, but the bulk of the two nations, we are confident, are sincerely anxious for peace, and there is no intelligent Englishman who has not the sincerest appreciation for the great qualities of the German people and for the fine character, and especially the *English sympathies*, of their Kaiser."

"Daily Graphic," January 27th, 1909.

"He (i.e., the Kaiser) has peculiar claims on the goodwill of this country. . . . The Kaiser is pre-eminently a MAN—a man of rare character, of exceptional culture, and of phenomenal industry and public spirit. . . . No one has yet been able to charge him with a slip or a blunder which was not redeemed by a high motive. In both his private and his public life he is a pattern to his countrymen. . . . Englishmen may reflect to-day with especial pleasure on the fact that throughout his reign the Emperor has been a staunch friend of their country. There are mischievous people who attempt sometimes to throw doubt on the genuineness of his attachment to us, and there are others, in Germany, who question its wisdom and its patriotism. When, however, we remember how he has persevered in it even at the risk of his popularity. . . . it is difficult not to admit that both its genuineness and its wisdom have been abundantly vindicated."

"Daily Graphic," May 26th, 1910.

"Indeed, the Kaiser has now publicly announced that, in conversation with M. Pichon while in London, he expressed his confidence in the maintenance of European peace, and his firm intention to do all in his power to contribute to its continuance. That declaration is thoroughly in accord with the Kaiser's whole reign. . . . More than that, the Kaiser has frequently given evidence of his special regard for the Sovereigns and the people of this country, and we should be churlish indeed if we did not reciprocate the spirit of goodwill which he displays."

#### *Czar and Kaiser.*

"Daily Graphic," November 7th, 1910.

"There are foolish people in London and Paris to whom these friendly meetings are as gall and wormwood. They seem to think that because Germany is a red rag to them, it ought to be the same to their



partner in the Triple Entente. Russian statesmanship is not always wise, but its attitude on this question must commend itself to all prudent men. It has no reason for quarrelling with Germany; it has nothing to gain by espousing the sore memories of France or the grotesque bogies of our own Teutophobes, and it does not interpret the Triple Entente as necessarily anti-German."

"Daily Graphic," April 12th, 1911.

*"The first requisite of a great prince is to be a good sportsman. This is a truth which Machiavelli ignored, but it is none the less one of the fundamentals of a wholesome politics. No one has recognised it more fully than the German Emperor, and we are sure that it must be a gratification to him to know that in this respect his son is worthy of his sire. But the sporting instinct, with its eternal monition to 'play the game,' is not only a sound basis for politics in general, it is also a peculiarly fruitful element in that strengthening of Anglo-German sympathies which the best men in both countries are so anxious to promote. For this reason we are glad to have become better acquainted with the German Crown Prince, and we are gratified to know that our feelings in this respect are so heartily reciprocated by him."*

#### **The Kaiser.**

"Daily Graphic," May 15th, 1911.

"... Whenever he comes to us he comes as an old friend of tried attachment and of perennial charm."

"Daily Graphic," August 29th, 1912.

"The Emperor William is pre-eminently human. It is for that reason that, in spite of the prognostical bogies of the politicians, we all reserve a warm corner in our hearts for his brilliant and wayward personality. In nothing has he proved himself more human, more in touch with the average inhabitant of this subfluvial hemisphere, than in his recent indisposition. Colds in the head and stiff necks are just now the common lot, and hence the sympathy with the Kaiser has been as sincere as far-reaching. We are truly gratified to know that the first gleam of sunshine yesterday found his Majesty able to go out — to walk vigorously and climb hills without effort. . . . The worst of these visitations is that they always come at the most inconvenient moments. This is as true of the Kaiser as of the man in the street. For the first time for twenty-five years he has been prevented from attending the great German military manœuvres, and we can well understand how grievously disappointed he must feel."

"Daily Graphic," December 31st, 1912.

"The year opened with Anglo-German relations at their worst. It is closing with quite a pleasant, if not a cordial, relationship between the two Powers."

*Kaiser celebrates King George's visit to him on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter by releasing the three British officers imprisoned in Germany for espionage.*

"Daily Graphic," May 20th, 1913.

"It is not only a fine act of clemency, but also an essentially Royal message of good feeling to the compatriots of the released officers. The meaning of it will be misunderstood by no one. . . . These are the acts of a generous heart, and it is encouraging to think that this heart, so rich in pure and opportune impulses, is one of the most powerful factors in those international problems which involve so much of the differences of mankind."

"Daily Graphic," June 16th, 1913.

"Never, assuredly, was a national homage more richly deserved. The many-sided character of the Kaiser, his multifarious and inexhaustible activities, and the almost aggressive independence of his policy and opinions have necessarily given rise to a diversity of appreciations, but not the most unsparing of his critics can or will gainsay the amazing range of his intellectual equipment, the loftiness of his moral character, the purity and strenuousness of his life, the nobility of his patriotism, and the earnestness of his devotion to his kingly office, and through it to the welfare of his people. . . . His twenty-five years' reign is an unbroken story of growing strength, CULTURE, and prosperity, and there is scarcely a development of the national life in which the Kaiser's versatile inspiration may not be traced. . . . He is at once War-Lord and Arch-Pacificist, an Apostle of Divine Right, and a shrewd and capable promoter of technical efficiency.

"... All in all, he is a fascinating and exemplary figure in this otherwise-drab world of ours. Far beyond the confines of the great Empire which now does him so much deserved honour the hope will re-echo that he may long be spared in health and happiness to garner still further of the love of his people and of the respect and confidence of other nations."

"Daily Graphic," June 23rd, 1914.

"It is desirable that it should be made clear that the present relations of the two countries are excellent, that their respective sovereigns and statesmen desire that they should remain so, and that even in the field of their most strenuous rivalry a genuine sentiment of mutual admiration and of professional camaraderie unites them. Moreover, is not the German Emperor a British admiral, and one of whom all British sailors may well be proud? We in this country are indeed delighted with this and every opportunity of sending our greetings to his Majesty, not merely as a devoted sailor, or even as the sovereign of a great Empire with which we are desirous of dwelling in unity, but as a fine example of public spirit and sincerity in every walk of life."

## The "Daily News" in July and August, 1914.

Singular interest attaches to the expressions of the "Daily News" (the organ of Mr. Cadbury and the Little England Party) immediately antecedent to the outbreak of the great war.

### "Germany's Weakness"

An extract from the "Daily News" of July 29th is illuminative as an example of its entire ignorance of European conditions :

"Evidently the working part is Germany, and if that part cannot run the machine is locked.

"As things stand, Austria cannot guarantee her ally fourteen army corps in Galicia, and Russia's railway facilities have been growing year by year.

"In seventeen days from the order to mobilise Austria will have put all she can spare on the Galician frontier. In twenty days a superior force, and in twenty-three days a very greatly superior force, will be assembled on the Russian side of the border. This gives Germany, who cannot enter France in full force till the twelfth day, just twelve to fifteen days in which to beat the French decisively and hurry back to the east, which would hardly seem to be a 'business proposition,' even if modern citizen soldiers were wooden pawns.

"If, through Austria's preoccupation in the south, Germany is obliged to leave anything like an adequate force of her own in the east, she cannot attack France to any profit, less than ever so if Italy does not hold up the three French army corps she is expected to look after, and if Germany has further to detach any large force to keep in check a Belgian or Anglo-Belgian army.

*"Germany is too weak, without Austria's full aid and something from Italy into the bargain, to make 'war on two fronts,' if the people on those two fronts want to make war upon her. All she can do (and this she could do with profit to all concerned) is to be so far ready for war that Russia could not employ more than a fraction of her forces against Austria. And as the Russian people are on this occasion incensed against Austria only, and that in the part of Austria's dominions furthest from the German frontier—as, in fact, Russia's concrete hostility is directed to the south-east, and only her abstract hostile intentions to the north—Germany would surely serve her ally well in preventing her ally's opponent from giving effect to an unlimited hostility with anything more than limited means.*

### The Value of Readiness

"This prevention can be achieved by readiness—simple readiness unaccompanied by offensive action, for which, in fact, Germany has not the available force.

"Russia, for her part, will have done all that is necessary on behalf of Servia when she has neutralised a full half of the Austrian Army, and

she will have secured France definitely from the sudden blow by detaching eight Prussian army corps in the east.

"France, for her part, will satisfy the conditions of her alliance by a state of readiness such that Germany cannot weaken herself in the wish to be strong in the east. Equilibrium between those Powers and in those areas that are only 'affected' without being interested, and military action only in the areas where the quarrel is real and earnest by the forces immediately concerned in that quarrel—such, it seems at the moment of writing, would be a militarily reasonable issue of the present tension.

"The way to localise the war, in the military sense, is to produce equilibrium and deadlock everywhere else."

### A Further Example, July 30th.

"Socialism in Germany only awaits such a moment as this to overthrow the despotism that holds it under its iron heel, and the initiative on the part of Russia would assuredly bring the Government of the Tsar face to face with a rising in Poland on such a scale as would threaten the existence of the Empire."

On August 1st the "Daily News" prophesied famine throughout England within a few days of the outbreak of war :

Leading article, August 1st.

### Keep the Peace

No man living has witnessed such a day as yesterday. It began with the enforced closing of the London Stock Exchange, an event without precedent in the history of this country. This was followed by the raising of the Bank rate from four to eight per cent., a movement without parallel. At midday came the news that the German Government had proclaimed a state of war, which means the handing over of administration to the military power. Simultaneously came the news that Holland was mobilising, and a little later that Belgium, too, was mobilising in defence of their neutrality. In the afternoon the Premier announced that he had heard from Germany that Russia had ordered a general mobilisation of Army and Fleet. The German proclamation of a state of war is an answer to Russia, and if the Russian mobilisation is persisted in Germany, too, will mobilise. At night came a demand from the bankers, for the present refused, that cash payments should be suspended.



Against all this the one comforting item of news is the resumption of negotiations between Russia and Austria, and with it some hope that war may be avoided. Europe is ringing with the tramp of armed millions, and the whole fabric of money and of credit throughout the world has collapsed. And as yet it is only the wind and rumour of war, not war itself.

In the City all men, even those who a few weeks ago were inclined to look upon war as rather a jolly adventure, now that it has breathed upon them are shaken with the horror of it. The ruin has fallen upon them first, because they are the first line of defence in commerce. But do the mass of Englishmen, the tradesman, the workman, the manufacturer, understand how swiftly ruin sweeps across industry under the threat or the impact of war? With credit gone, business must come to a standstill; mills, factories, workshops must shut down; and *if war follows upon the threat of war, food will go up to famine prices. Within a few days of England launching into this struggle the streets of every English town will be filled with starving men, women, and children, who either have no money because there is no work or whose wages under the blast of famine can no longer keep body and soul together.* In this modern world the devastation which war registers on the battlefield is as nothing to the devastation which it registers in every centre of industrial activity. The soldier at least has his rations, but starvation will come to the homes of millions of working men. It is that prospect to which a manifest conspiracy between certain forces and the Yellow Press is inviting the English people. *We are being told that our Government is bound in honour to bring all this horror and misery upon the English people, and to risk the safety of the Empire. That is false,* because we have the explicit and repeated assurance of the Government that we are free of all ties, pledges, and obligations to go to war in support of Russia or France. We are being told that we must launch into the struggle to maintain the balance of power. If the balance of power be measured by the number of armed men, then the balance is with France and Russia and against Germany and Austria. Yet it is precisely to the side of Russia and France that these jingoes, who would sacrifice the people of these islands to the balance of power, wished to add the force of England. Apply another test. Suppose we follow the counsel of the jingoes and join in with France and Russia. Two consequences may follow—either the

Russo-Franco-British combination wins or it is defeated. If it is defeated then not only will hosts of English lives have been sacrificed and millions of English homes ruined, but we shall have smashed the Empire. If the Russo-Franco-British combination were to win, then we should gain nothing. Russia and France would partition Germany, and Russia would dominate Europe. The balance of power would be irretrievably, eternally overthrown to make Russia dictator, a Russia, which, unlike Germany, cannot be placed by European policy between the hammer and the anvil of hostile Powers on either flank. Who can doubt that after we had helped Russia to destroy Germany and planted her firmly in the seat of supremacy she would turn against us and seize Persia and India? This is the madness and the infamy to which those who talk of our "honour" and the sacred cause of the balance of power are inviting us. Gambling is one thing, but a throw of the dice when nothing can be won and everything must be lost is insanity.

What is the duty of the Government? It is its duty not only to keep out of the war should war come, but to announce here and now its rigorous neutrality. That would be the greatest contribution it could make to the preservation of peace, for it is the hope of our support in arms which is encouraging Russia to draw the sword. Why does not Mr. Asquith or Sir Edward Grey make that simple announcement of our neutrality? We do not profess to understand, but we do know that their tardiness and hesitation are not only encouraging Russia to appeal to the sword, but are also stimulating our own jingoes in their campaign. It is quite clear that the pressure on the Government of those obscure forces which make for war is heavy, and growing heavier, and that unless the friends of peace rally and concentrate the Government may slide down the slope of disaster. The crisis is so urgent that words cannot express it. Not a moment can be lost. The friends of peace in Parliament must move at once, and move openly. The full force of public opinion must be brought to bear. Upon those who control organised labour the responsibility in this hour is heaviest because their power is greatest. The time has come when from every factory, mill, and workshop should come the command to our rulers to keep the peace. It is now that they must strike for their homes. A day's delay, and the blunder and the crime may be achieved, and misery and ruin be the lot of millions.

**THE "DAILY NEWS," PLEA FOR GERMAN "CULTURE" (August 1st 1914.)**

# WHY WE MUST NOT FIGHT.

## ENGLAND AND THE CRISIS.

By A. G. G.

The greatest calamity in history is upon us—a calamity so vast that our senses are numbed with horror. We hardly dare look into the pit that yawns at our feet, and yet any hour, any minute may plunge us in beyond all hope of return. At this moment our fate is being sealed by hands that we know not, by motives alien to all our interests, by influences that if we knew we should certainly repudiate. Every step at this hour may be irrevocable. The avalanche trembles on the brink and a touch may send it shattering into the abyss.

The peace of every land, the happiness of every home in Europe, the very bread by which we live, hang at this moment upon the will of one man, the Tsar of Russia. It is he whose hand is on the avalanche. It is he who with one stroke of the pen, one word of the mouth, one motion of the head, can plunge Europe in a sea of blood and bury all the achievements of our civilisation in anarchy. The whole Continent is trembling with the tread of armed men. From the Neva to the Rhone, the legions are in motion. A friend of mine came through Prussia two days ago. At the stations as he passed he saw the platforms lined with men in private clothes, awaiting their despatch to an unknown doom on an unknown field—men who have no share in this quarrel of the dynasts, who do not know what it is about, who will slay or be slain without hate and without understanding. And another tells me that as he lay at Dijon three nights ago he heard the tramp of men and the rumbling of artillery all through the dark hours, and that when he came down in the morning there was not a waiter in the hotel. They, too, had gone in the dark to meet their doom.

### Waiting on England

And at St. Petersburg there sits the man who has everyone of these lives and millions more at his mercy, and who at one word can let hell loose upon the face of Europe. Is he a man we can trust with this momentous power? A weak man, superstitious, under the influence now of inhuman philosophers like Pobiedonostseff or Meshkershtsky, now of mystics and charlatans like Philippe and Rasputin, who decorates his Black Hundreds on the morrow of their massacres and holds half Europe in the grip

of a mediæval despotism—is he the man whom the free peoples of France and England can trust with their destiny? Is he the man for whom we are going to shed our blood and our treasure? Is Russia the type of civilisation that we are prepared to bleed ourselves white to make triumphant over Europe and over Asia?

The question is for us. For though the Tsar has his hand on the avalanche it is we who have our hand on him. It is we who in the last analysis must say whether Europe is to be deluged with blood. Do you doubt it? Turn to your paper this (Friday) morning. There you will see a message from St. Petersburg signed by Reuter. It begins:

"The situation shows, so far, no change in the direction of peace. The sailing of the British Fleet from Portland has created an immense impression, and, coupled with Japan's assurance, has more than confirmed Russia's determination to stand to her guns."

In that flash we see the situation. We see the Tsar with his hand on the avalanche looking towards England for the one assurance that he needs. Let England say "No, you touch it at your own risk and your own peril," and his hand will drop. Let England falter, temporise, equivocate, and he will plunge us into ruin with the rest.

### The Campaign of the Warmongers

We are told that we must be quiet, that we may encourage Germany by making her believe that she has not to reckon with us. But the move is not with Germany. The move is with Russia. It is she whom we encourage or discourage by every word that is said and every action that is done. It is she who has the issues of war and peace in her hands. It is she whom the sailing of our Fleet from Portland has "confirmed in her determination to stand to her guns." Quiet? But who is keeping the "Times" and the "Daily Mail" and the rest of the papers which by years of anti-German propaganda have been paving the way to this stupendous catastrophe—who is keeping them quiet? Nay, who is inspiring them? Who is authorising them to tell Russia that she may start the avalanche with the assurance that we shall be in the abyss with her? They talk of our "obligations to our friends." We



have no obligations except the obligation to preserve this country from any share in the crime that threatens to overwhelm Europe. Again and again we have had the assurances of the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey that we are free agents, that our hands are not tied. If that is so, why are these mischievous declarations about our complicity allowed to pass? Every one of them is a new incitement to Russia, a fresh match applied to the powder magazines of Europe. They are reproduced in Russia to feed the flame of popular passion and to nerve the Tsar to the fatal act.

### The Assassinations

If we are free—and we know that we are free—what ground is there for involving ourselves in this unspeakable calamity? On the immediate cause of the quarrel we can have no sympathy with Serbia. The assassination of the Crown Prince and his wife was a brutal and cold-blooded crime, the fruit of a conspiracy laid with infinite care and deliberation, and wholly inspired by Serbia. It was a plot so complete, so official, as it were, that there was no possibility of the victims escaping. They were literally enveloped by death from the moment they entered Serajevo. The crime was only the culmination of a long train of events, all of which aimed at raising rebellion among the Slavs of Austria-Hungary, and its immediate purpose was to destroy the one life which seemed necessary to save Austria from disruption on the old Emperor's death. We need not attempt to justify the terms of the ultimatum, but no one denies the provocation, no one suggests that, if the two countries could be isolated, Austria would not be justified in exacting severe terms from the criminal.

### The War Press

Why is a European war threatened to save Serbia from punishment? Because Serbia is the instrument of Russia. It was in Belgrade that that most mischievous of Russian diplomatists, M. Hartweg, carried on his machinations throughout the Balkan War. It is through Belgrade that Russia hopes to establish her domination of the Balkan Peninsula. Have we any interest in helping her? Will it please the miners of Northumberland and the cotton operatives of Lancashire to know that Europe has waded through blood in order to give Russia the hegemony of the Slav world? Is her rule so beneficent that we can go to war to help her to extend it? I am old enough to remember—it does not seem very long ago—when the music-halls of London were ringing with

"We don't want to fight,  
But, by Jingo, if we do,  
We've got the ships, we've got the men,

We've got the money, too!  
We've fought the bear before,  
And while we're Britons true,  
The Russians shall not have Con-stanti-no-ple."

I hated the jingle then, as I hate it now, because it was a detestable appeal to ignorance and passion. But behind that appeal to make war on Russia were all the same vicious influences that are to-day working to achieve for Russia that very supremacy in the Balkans, that path to Constantinople, which they denied her in 1878. Let us recall that fact when we hear the patriotic gramophones of Lord Northcliffe shouting for war—as they always shout for war. Let the public remember that, with all its affectation of gravity, the voice of the "Times" is the same voice as that which speaks in the "Daily Mail," the "Evening News," and all the rest of the rabble of jingo journalism. It is only the accent which is a little more polite. We saw how the system works yesterday. In the "Times," in the morning, Lord Northcliffe published an article carefully designed to encourage Russia to believe that she may rely on us to back her. In the evening he reproduced it in his "Evening News" for the mob as the voice of the august "Times." It is thus that he gives the air of public clamour when he alone is speaking through his myriad gramophones.

### Germany or Russia

If, then, we have neither sympathy with Serbia in the quarrel, nor a traditional interest in the aims of her master in the Balkans, why should we go to war? Is it because we wish the Russian civilisation to overwhelm the German civilisation? There is not a thinking being in this land who, competent to form a judgment, would not repudiate such a monstrous thought. If we crush Germany in the dust, and make Russia the dictator of Europe and Asia, it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen Western culture and civilisation. It will be a reaction to barbarism—the triumph of blind superstition over the most enlightened intellectual life of the modern world.

### The Wrong Horse

And if it is a question of political supremacy, of that vague gibberish that is talked about "the balance of power," can we doubt where our interest lies? For years, under the industrious propaganda of Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Strachey, Mr. Maxse, and the militarists, this country has been preached into an anti-German frame of mind and takes no accounts of facts. Where in the wide world do our interests clash with those of Germany? Nowhere. With Russia we have potential conflicts over the whole of South-Eastern Europe and Southern Asia. I have

recalled the doggerel of forty years ago. It was typical. The whole of the latter half of last century was dominated by our fear of Russia's designs upon our Indian Empire. Are those designs dead? No; if ever they had reality, they are as real to-day as ever they were and much more practicable. The insane policy that has driven us into enmity with Germany has led us to sanction Russia's annexation of Northern Persia and to listen to a scheme for a Russian railway to the very gates of India—a scheme the mere hint of which would have driven the jingoes to frenzy twenty years ago. We may help to trample Germany in the dust and exalt Russia, but if we do so we shall not buy off one fragment of Russia's aims in the future.

And what if, as the outcome of Armageddon, she makes terms with Germany and divides the sway of Europe? What, then, will the Indian Empire be worth? This is no wild dream. All things are possible if once we are involved in this horror. Remember the swift change in the Balkans that turned the swords of the allies at each others' throats almost in a night.

### The Menace at Home.

And what price shall we pay at home? The fabric of our finance is shaken. Industry will be paralysed. Famine will be in our midst. The whole of our hopes of social reform and the betterment of the people will go like a dream in the night—swallowed up in the nightmare of a hideous reality. Does the Tsar, sitting with his hand on the avalanche, think of that? Do the preachers of anti-Germanism think of that? These are the same people who have fought with every weapon in their power against our efforts to make the lot of the common people of this land a little better, and to lay more firmly the foundations of a free people. Are all these efforts to collapse in ruin? Are we to share the universal anarchy?

For it is anarchy as well as war to which Europe is rushing. No man can tell what will emerge when the whole fabric of society has been shattered. But one thing will not emerge. The dynasts will go with the horror that they have created. The people failed in 1848, but they will not fail in 1914. Whatever miseries they have to face in the future they may be trusted to sweep the curse of despotism off the face of Europe.

### No Weakness.

We are told that the day of our "splendid isolation" is over—that we must have "friends," and therefore enemies. It is false. Its falsity is proved by the very situation with which we are faced. It is because England is free that Europe hesitates. It is our neutrality which is the only protection that Europe has against the hideous ruin and combustion

on the brink of which it trembles. Let us announce that neutrality to the world. It is the one hope. There is no other. Let us make it clear that unless and until British interests are attacked we will have no part in this world insanity, that we will not shed a drop of English blood for Tsar or Servia, that our one obligation is the interests of peace and this land, and that we refuse to recognise any other. We can save Europe from war even at this last moment. But we can only save it by telling the Tsar that he must fight his own battles and take the consequence of his own action.

If the British Government does this it will do the greatest service to humanity in history. If it does not do it it will have brought the greatest curse to humanity in history. The youngest of us will not live to see the end of its crime.

### "MONSTROUS IMMORALITY"

"Daily News," August 3rd.

"Let us speak plainly. There are, clear to the eyes of every one of us, certain influences at work to drive us into the war. There must be no inventing of pretexts for falling upon Germany. That would be, not only a monstrous act of immorality, but a monstrous blow at the welfare of this country. This country must preserve her neutrality. Any other policy would be treason to Liberal principle."

### HORRIBLE COMMERCIALISM

War between Great Britain and Germany was declared as from the night of August 4th.

The following are extracts from the leading article of Mr. Cadbury's "Daily News" of the same morning.

The italics are not those of the "Daily News." They are inserted here to add point to the argument of Mr. Cadbury's self-proclaimed organ of "humanitarianism" that the proper part of Great Britain in Germany's violation of small and innocent Belgium and unprovocative France was to stand aside and make capital out of the agonies of those countries by "capturing the bulk of their trade."

"If we are not yet at war with Germany, war is a matter of hours, and the Government has taken measures in anticipation of conflict. The Fleet has been mobilised and the Army is mobilising, and if no undertaking has been given to despatch the expeditionary force across the seas it is only because the Government is considering the general requirements of the defence of the Empire. Sir Edward Grey suggested that so far as the economic consequence to this country is concerned, there is no appreciable difference between the loss we should suffer if we remained neutral and the loss we shall suffer by entering into the war. Sir Edward is not well versed in economics, and we fear he has gravely



misapprehended this matter. *If we remained neutral we should be, from the commercial point of view, in precisely the same position as the United States. We should be able to trade with all the belligerents (so far as the war allows of trade with them); we should be able to capture the bulk of their trade in neutral markets; we should keep our expenditure down; we should keep out of debt; we should have healthy finances.*

"Sir Edward Grey contends that we are bound to make a violation of the neutrality of Belgium by Germany a *casus belli*. We shall not ask whether he would have treated a similar violation by France as a *casus belli*, but we shall point out that Sir Edward did not assert that we are bound by treaty to defend Belgium's neutrality by force of arms. It is worth noting that all the Belgian Government asked of us was diplomatic intervention. If we are under no treaty obligation in the matter of Belgium, then *there is no question here of our honour*. The real argument put forward by Sir Edward Grey in this question was that of our interests. He declared that our vital interests are bound up with the neutrality of Belgium, and he drew a picture of all the neutral States of Northern Europe—Belgium, Holland, Denmark—being absorbed by Germany. *The picture does not persuade, because we see no*

*probability of its ever representing the facts, and while Sir Edward asserted our interest in Belgian neutrality he did not prove it, and with infinite regret we must confess ourselves unconvinced.*"

Here, in the same article, are the "Daily News" singularly inaccurate forecasts of the condition of England within a few weeks of the beginning of the war.

"Already the financial system of Britain, as well as of the rest of the world, has collapsed. The immediate ruin that has fallen upon the commercial world is incalculable. In a few days that ruin will be reflected in industry, and every week that passes will increase the gravity of the situation. The measures taken yesterday by the Government are wise and necessary and they will doubtless be extended. But financial expedients alone will not meet the case. The food question must be taken in hand at once. Already prices are bounding up, and the poor will be ground between the upper and the nether millstone—between unemployment on the one hand and the high cost of the necessaries of life on the other. It needs no gift of imagination to conceive what the situation will be in industrial Britain in a few weeks' time unless the most drastic steps are taken to cope with it. Our towns will be crowded with the workless and the starving."

## Extracts from the German and Austrian Press

### German Modesty.

November 11th, 1909.

It would do good to Englishmen to imitate some German manners, and at least they can learn as much of us as we of them—above all, more modesty.—“*Taegliche Rundschau*,” Berlin.

### “The Final Struggle.”

October 4th, 1898.

May we never forget that England in Africa, and everywhere else, is our opponent; and may God preserve us from the insanity of being entangled through hypocritical assurances of future benefits in the final decisive struggle between Britain and Russia! Were the English at last freed from the overwhelming pressure of Russia, they would immediately turn against their helper.—“*Hamburger Nachrichten*.”

### What England Really Fears.

November 16th, 1898.

It is not the Fashoda question or the Egyptian difficulty which is causing England's naval and military activity. Neither is the situation in the Far East nor Near East nor South Africa responsible for all the fuss. England has a bad conscience and is afraid of the Czar's disarmament conference and of the questions which it may raise. It is against this abstract enemy that Albion is arming herself.—“*Wiener Tageblatt*.”

### The Smiling British Lion.

The British Lion was so pleased with the success he achieved with his threatening gestures in the little quarrel with France that he resolved to continue a little longer lashing the earth with his tail and giving forth fearful roars, simply to set European diplomacy in terror. It is true this terror existed only in the phantasy of writers in Chauvinistic English newspapers, whose heads were affected as with the smoke of an opium pipe by the victory of Sirdar Kitchener over a few bands of badly armed dervishes.—“*Die Post*,” Berlin.

### English and American Braggarts.

November 24th, 1898.

The Anglo-Saxons are a boastful race. The Americans are jubilant because their modern, well-equipped, fully manned battleships blew into eternity a much smaller force of Spanish cruisers, sans ammunition, sans coal, sans everything. The English free-lance Kitchener has now swept a few thousand badly armed, worse-led negroes off the face of the

earth and his countrymen are overjoyed at his victory. But it would be quite a different thing if Tommy Atkins were pitted against European enemies.—“*Reichswehr*,” Vienna.

### A Puerile Utopia.

December 20th, 1898.

The idea of rapprochement between France and Germany is a puerile Utopia; for Germany would never dream of restoring France Alsace-Lorraine, and France would not think of forgoing her claims to the two annexed provinces.—“*Hamburger Nachrichten*.”

### Advice to England.

March 3rd, 1899.

The increase of expenditure for military purposes in England indicates that the weakness of the English Army is realised. But such measures as these are inadequate. England, to maintain her position, will have to resort to conscription throughout her Empire with its hundreds of millions inhabitants. Such an army would be irresistible.—“*Allgemeine Zeitung*.”

### No Friendship

April 20th, 1899.

We cannot imagine how Germany can continue on friendly terms with Great Britain after the attitude of the latter in the Samoan question. We have frequently predicted the speedy dissolution of the never very strong bond between England and Germany, and our prediction seems likely to be fulfilled even sooner than we expected.—“*Deutsche Zeitung*,” Vienna.

### What a Prospect!

September 23rd, 1899.

In case of defeat, England receives her death-stroke in Africa. What a prospect for Germany! The United States of South Africa, founded upon the broken-up British Empire, will be her natural arch-enemy, and Germany's natural ally. Then at last the German race, too, will occupy one of the foreign continents.—“*Deutsche Zeitung*.”

### Criticism Made in Germany.

November 13th, 1899.

The English land army is not only numerically weak, but it is also far behind the armies of other Powers in absolute war value.

The times in which Napoleon could say “English infantry is the best in the world” have disappeared in the face of the entirely different tactical demands of modern fighting on infantry. It is universally



acknowledged that the great bravery of the British officers and men cannot compensate for this, so to say, strategical deficiency. The fact that the present organisation of British defensive forces is not equal to the serious military demands of the perhaps near future is not readily acknowledged on the other side of the Channel, as important questions of interior politics are connected with it. Impartial criticism must lead to the conclusion that England's military forces are no longer equal to the demands made on them by the foreign policy which she pursues.—"National Zeitung," Berlin.

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#### Impotent England.

January 24th, 1900.

Despite her wealth, despite her Fleet, England is not able to go to war with a Great Power. That much has been proven, and even if the Boers should be vanquished—which is not at all certain—this impression will remain.—"Vossische Zeitung."

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#### Our Many Enemies.

February 6th, 1900.

The danger of foreign intervention increases every day for England. Great Britain may at any moment find herself involved in half a dozen different disputes in various parts of the world. Great Britain's enemies are many, and they will not miss this big opportunity of wounding their big adversary. How will Albion overcome this difficulty? Will she be able to overcome it at all? We doubt it.—"Tageblatt," Vienna.

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#### "An Empire of Dreams."

It is one of the most astonishing things of this remarkable war that England, even in respect of arms, is behind her adversaries. Even now there is no doubt that the two Republics will obtain full independence, and it is quite as certain that England will have to make territorial concessions. The Anglo-African Empire from the Cape to the Nile Delta has become an Empire of Dreams.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

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#### The English "Pirates."

March 21st, 1900.

The Boers in their desperate fight against the English "pirates" are enjoying the fullest sympathy of the nations, but need not expect the least attempt of intervention from the Governments of the Powers. The dynastic relations between the European Courts have proved stronger than the likings or dislikings of the people.—"Staatsburger Zeitung," Berlin.

#### Successful Imperialism.

March 25rd, 1900.

The world is face to face with the successful trial of British Imperialism. It is astonishing how deep are the roots of this feeling. Perhaps the chief importance of the war lies in the fact that it has drawn the mother country and the colonies closer together. It is quite certain that England in future wars can reckon on Colonial assistance. England will come out of the war vastly stronger than when she began, with increased military prestige, and, what is more important than all, united in all her parts in the defence of her interests.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

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#### Germany's Friends.

November 27th, 1900.

It is to be feared that the friendly relations which Germany maintains with all the Powers will not last long unless governing circles in Berlin separate themselves in time from England.—"Gazette Allemande," Vienna.

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#### "No Anglo-German Alliance."

March 14th, 1901.

An offensive and defensive alliance between the German and British Empires continues to belong to the realms of imagination. There is no occasion for any such alliance. Neither Germans nor Englishmen desire it. Each State has too many interests which are peculiar to itself, and which cannot, and will not, be espoused by the other.—"Vossische Zeitung," Berlin.

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#### Candid Admission.

April 12th, 1901.

Throughout the period of our existence as a State, we have not met with much love or friendship from our British cousin. When we were small, he would have liked to have made us smaller, and when we showed signs of growing great, he would have fain tripped us up. It is only now, when we really are great, that he begins to treat us in a more friendly way. The widespread desire to give our cousin across the Channel as good as we got is, humanly speaking, the more intelligible in view of the fact that, in addition to the dregs of this historic bitterness, a good deal of envy has accumulated—envy excited by the spectacle of British prosperity.—"Koelnische Zeitung."

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#### The British Navy.

July 12th, 1901.

There appears to be no doubt that the condition of the British Navy is as rotten as that of the British Army when the South African War broke out.—"Tageblatt," Vienna.

**"Britain's Achilles' Heel."**

October 15th, 1901.

Great Britain is hedged in with difficulties in South Africa, Manchuria, America, Afghanistan, and Ireland. South Africa has proved the vulnerable heel of Achilles through which the whole organism of the British Empire has been weakened.—"Vossische Zeitung," Berlin.

**Alarming Forecasts.**

November 2nd, 1901.

Russia's expansion in Central Asia is logical and inevitable. Sooner or later England will have to fight for her hold on India. Persia is ear-marked for Russia.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

**A Shock to "Kultur."**

November 8th, 1901

Germans are enraged against England because of the way the South African War is being conducted.

The English conduct of this war has placed England outside the circle of civilised nations.—"Tageblatt," Berlin.

**The Horror of the Huns.**

November 9th, 1901.

Among all the horror of the English methods of warfare, the slow massacre of children is the most terrible; and official Europe looks on unconcernedly at these vile doings of the English hangman.—"Volkszeitung," Berlin.

November 13th, 1901.

The English troops in South Africa are committing the same crime as the Boxers were guilty of in China. But with this difference: that the Boxers killed their sacrifices sooner, whereas the Englishmen slowly put their prisoners to death by hunger and thirst.—"Volkszeitung," Berlin

**Germany as Suzerain.**

November 12th, 1901.

Mr. Chamberlain, forgetting that England, thanks to Mr. Chamberlain's South African blunder and crime, is now virtually under the moral suzerainty of the Emperor William, deems it wise to insult the German Army and German officers. "Those whom the gods wish to destroy," etc. England hasn't a friend; it is so splendidly isolated that English journals are now actually coquetting with Russia, its hereditary enemy.—"Handelsblad," Amsterdam.

**Lord Kitchener's Weakness.**

November 14th, 1901.

Lord Kitchener's telegrams have called forth, even in England, endless scorn. Some newspapers go so far as to conclude that the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa is weak in the head.—"Vorwaerts," Berlin.

**Typical German Slanders.**

November 18th, 1901.

In spite of the great Boer losses of able-bodied men, in spite of the terrible mortality of the children in those horrid concentration camps, another generation is growing up, imbibing with the mother's milk irreconcilable hatred against England. It will still be stronger in numbers than the rabble of British immigrants. As long as Kitchener's hangman's talent does not rise to the resolution of murdering the Boer women "en masse," England neither will drive the Boer people off the earth nor entirely subjugate it.—"Staatsburger-Zeitung," Berlin.

After the war of the English against the Boers has lasted for twenty-five months Great Britain is playing a mournful, ay, miserable part in South Africa. Kitchener rages in the most shameful way against women and children; and European diplomacy coldly looks upon this work of the hangman.—"Volkszeitung," Berlin.

**Anglo-German Difficulties.**

November 18th, 1901.

To-day nobody will deny that between 1885 and 1901 there have been many psychological moments when friction of a serious nature has existed between England and Germany. Zanzibar, Uganda, Heligoland, South Africa, Samoa, the capture of the German East African liners, China, are instances in point. Certainly nobody will dispute that extraordinary tact has been necessary in some of these situations safely to steer Ang'o-German relations through the surf.—"Der Reichsbote," Berlin.

**An Average Sample.**

November 21st, 1901.

Mr. Chamberlain is a "pious" man—this man with the flat, brutal face, and the eyeglass stuck in his eye; he a tender, honourable soul, he whom history will name with Attila and Genghis Khan, he who sweeps like a plague over the prosperous land of the Boers and leaves dying whomsoever he may touch with the hem of his garment. The houses lie in ashes—will he scatter them to the winds, as was said of Jerusalem? The cattle are slain—will he poison the wells with their bodies? The women and children are dying by thousands—will he hasten death with powder and shot? Certainly not, for that would be merciful. Will he torture the prisoners with red-hot



irons? What cruelty has not taken place? What blackguardism which shocked witnesses do not relate? When a plague sweeps over a land it spares one and forgets another in a merciful way—such mercy is not known by Mr. Chamberlain. But he went to Edinburgh, and has declared that for all that is still to come England finds a pattern and precedent in the behaviour of the nations which now denounce its proceedings as barbarism and cruelty. England's doings will never equal what these nations did in Poland the Caucasus, Bosnia, Tonquin, and the war of 1870. We are justified in protesting against the accusation which Mr. Chamberlain hurls against us Germans, and we do this in a plain and clear way by calling him an infamous liar.—"Zeitung," Detmold.

#### In Defence of Calumny.

February 6th, 1902.

The movement among the Germans resident in London to enter a public protest against the German calumnies on the British Army in South Africa failed because most right-thinking Germans were determined to prevent such an agitation, and they succeeded.—"Rheinische Westfaelische Zeitung."

#### German Exultation.

June 3rd, 1902.

Peace, whatever the terms may be, signifies a moral victory for the Boers, whose heroic efforts have filled every German with feelings of exultant pride.—"Lokalanzeiger," Berlin.

#### "A Powerful Deterrent."

The fearful suffering and the loss of blood and treasure in the war will be a powerful deterrent to any country which may, in future, be about to embark light-heartedly upon a war.—"Tageblatt," Berlin.

#### England's Surprises.

August 18th, 1902.

Germany has learned at last to conduct her politics on business principles; she has prepared herself for all contingencies, whereas England in recent years has allowed herself to be surprised by developments. In a word, the German Michael has waked from his sleep, whereas John Bull seems to have sunk into a sleep.—"Nachrichten," Hamburg.

#### "Rotten England."

August 27th, 1902.

English society is rotten, corrupt, and immoral to the core. English agriculture is ruined. English trade will soon be ruined. The administration of the Government is hopelessly corrupt and inefficient. England's affairs are conducted by a handful of

empty-headed aristocrats. The House of Commons is an assembly of financiers, company promoters, and other men "on the make." The English army is worthless. Great Britain's Naval Power is all empty babble.—"Pester Lloyd," Budapest.

#### Anglo-German Bitterness.

August 29th, 1902.

Germans are embittered by the acts of England, and a long time must elapse before good relations can again be established, and the temper of large sections of the German people mollified. Distrust of England has become general in Germany, and will not disappear until England displays a change of character.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

#### "Fierce Hatred."

November 18th, 1902.

In Germany there is a fierce hatred of England, and the Emperor William risked the whole heritage of popularity of his House and deeply wounded the feelings of his people when he shook hands with his uncle, sat at table with his dragoons, and finally carried on a long conversation with Mr. Chamberlain at Sandringham.—"Die Zeit," Berlin.

#### The Rich Spoil of America.

December 30th, 1902.

Germany will have to consider in good earnest the possibility of a conflict. Should Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and Russia jointly decide upon radically solving the American question, England will also be one of the party. And there will be rich spoils; the forty-five States and the six territories would afford abundant compensation for the costly armaments. The Powers will not be at a loss to partition the United States and treat it as a territory of colonisation.—"Ostdeutsche Rundschau," Vienna.

#### German World-Power.

January 9th, 1903.

The union of all the Germans of Europe into one great consolidated national force will bring about the German world-empire of the future. Should this idea become the public opinion of our entire nation, and should the power of the empire become equivalent to the power of the Germans, wherever they be, then we shall not need to be anxious about our future, then no such defeat will be recorded again as that suffered by pan-Germanism in South Africa.—"Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte," Vienna.

**Britain and Germany.**

January 19th, 1903.

People in London should make it clear to themselves that in case of a diminution of the sympathies between the German and the English peoples, it is not Germans who will suffer.—“Allgemeine Zeitung,” Munich.

**England's Starvation.**

February 19th, 1903.

Emperor William, in trying to demonstrate that the German Fleet is hopelessly behind the British Fleet, did not take into calculation the greatest danger to England's security—*i.e.*, the menace to the highways of English commerce. For, should it once come to a serious contest, England might be defeated not by naval disasters, but by the bloodless war of being starved into surrender.—“Die Zeit,” Vienna.

**The Whale Ashore.**

March 7th, 1903.

“In the same proportion as England is powerful on the sea, she is powerless on the land.”—“Arbeiter Zeitung,” Vienna.

**Humble England.**

May 2nd, 1903.

England is too humble in its attitude towards the Russian bear to join the United States in making a direct representation to Russia against Russia's Manchurian policy. The British lion displays its teeth ferociously towards the poor Chinese, but towards Russia it is as humble as a domesticated animal.—“Vossische Zeitung,” Berlin.

**German View of British Policy.**

July 13th, 1903.

A clue to British foreign policy, and the only clue, is isolation of the German Empire. British diplomacy insinuates into the ear of the other Powers that “the German Empire is great solely because of the mutual dissensions of the remaining countries, and these dissensions must be done away with.” Suiting the action to the word, British statesmen began a series of negotiations with the other Powers.—“Deutsche Monatschrift,” Berlin.

**Alarms.**

September 9th, 1903.

In the recent exchange of visits between the rulers of France and England there is the germ of an English-French-Russian alliance against Germany, an outlook that calls for the utmost vigilance.—“Monitor,” Dresden.

**Russia Paralysed.**

February 15th, 1904.

The arm of Russia is paralysed to an extent which prevents it from striking a blow in Europe. The first fiddle in the European Concert, which has hitherto unquestionably been played by Russia, will now pass to the German Empire.—“Koelnische Volkszeitung.”

“But——”

February 15th, 1904.

The English autumn manoeuvres have naturally resulted in a complete defeat of the enemy. General French has, after a few small successes, retreated in full flight, and is now in danger of being surrounded and captured with his whole army at Clapton-on-Sea [*sic*]. The great decisive battle is still to come, but will, of course, prove that an invasion of England would not be attended with the slightest success. But in real war . . . —“General Anzeiger,” Düsseldorf.

**A Displeasing Peace.**

May 21st, 1904.

Peace between England and France is no concern of ours. In fact, a few points of friction would materially help to neutralise the forces of these Powers, neither of whom is our special friend.—“Deutsche Tageszeitung,” Berlin.

**Germany and Russia.**

August 17th, 1904.

Any close friendship with England would mean another estrangement between Germany and Russia, and we have a far greater interest in maintaining good relations with Russia than we have in maintaining good relations with Great Britain.—“Deutsche Tageszeitung,” Berlin.

**What England Fears.**

October 3rd, 1904.

The “entente cordiale” was welcomed by England because it was supposed to help to isolate Germany. But with Russia as our friend we are safe from the east, and if she can emerge with honour and some success from the present war her influence in China would be on Germany's side. This is what England fears, and, therefore, she hails slander and abuse upon us. Perhaps it helps, perhaps not.—“Kurier,” Nuremberg.

**The Failure of German Policy.**

November 19th, 1904.

Germany means to have no difference with Russia—that is the decisive feature of German policy.—“Tageblatt,” Vienna.



**"Insurmountable."**

December 3rd, 1904.

The opposition between the Russians and the English, between the nature and the policy of the two nations, as well as between their respective economic interests and their respective Asiatic ambitions, is, in a word, insurmountable.—"National Zeitung," Berlin.

**Next to Russia.**

December 8th, 1904.

Next to Russia it is we who stand in England's way. England fears Russia in India, and Germany threatens her commerce—the root of English might. Therefore, she seeks to retard our progress. This bitterness in England will certainly discharge itself against us, as in former times it discharged itself against Spain, Holland, France, and Denmark. Therefore, may we never delude ourselves into false safety!—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

**The Wicked English Press.**

December 14th, 1904.

Graf von Buelow has taken the trouble to make a speech in order to dispel English mistrust of Germany. Will it do any good? The majority of English journals, for certain reasons, and with cold-blooded systematic persistence, are working to bring about a breach between England and Germany.—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

**John Bull's Transformation.**

December 14th, 1904.

Within the last thirty years the once so peaceful John Bull has changed into, if not an evil, at least a very suspicious neighbour. Formerly he was so certain of his commercial monopoly, secured by a tremendous fleet of warships, that he had only a smile of disdain for those who sought to secure for themselves "a place in the sunshine." Things have changed since. Germany's growing sea-power and competition have created discontent among the English people.—"Vossische Zeitung," Berlin.

**Britain's Envied Supremacy.**

December 19th, 1904.

The British Admiralty's new scheme emphasises in an almost overbearing manner the claim of Great Britain to predominate over all the seas. It constitutes an additional reason for a speedy increase in the German Navy.—"Neueste Nachrichten," Berlin.

**Cheerful German Speculations.**

January 2nd, 1905.

In the event of war with Germany, England has made herself everywhere hated by her policy, so

that our diplomats would be absolutely incapable if they could not work up a coalition against her. England's Fleet, on which her entire safety depends, would be insufficient to fight a coalition and defend her commerce—apart from the point that England's fleet is undermanned.—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

**The Hate-filled Rival.**

January 10th, 1905.

No State can allow a neighbour to keep a force fitted out for war on the frontier. But what are we doing against the "permanent war-footing" of our hate-filled rival, England, whose fleet is "always ready to strike a blow"? Why, we wait! And our diplomats console us that "the reasonable people" in England would never allow such a war. As if the English had ever shrunk in the least from a war with any dangerous commercial rival!—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

**Something to Look in the Face.**

January 18th, 1905.

The rise of German sea power changed the fundamental conditions of British existence. This is the fact we, as well as the British, must look coldly and calmly in the face.—"Preussische Jahrbucher," Berlin.

**Foretelling Russia's Fate.**

March 25th, 1905.

Whatever Russia may do now, the distance of the theatre of war from the European basis always remains, and for that reason her fate is already sealed.—"Neue Freie Presse," Vienna.

**"Irony of History."**

April 3rd, 1905.

The Kaiser's aim is to keep the sword sharp and bright, but he throws it into the scale of peace. He can drive through his capital without fear of bombs, and his political decisions are not wrung from him by fright. Contemporary history has never been more ironical than when it gave the Kaiser the surname of "War Lord," and to the Tsar the title of "Peace Emperor."—"Sonn-und Mon-tag Zeitung," Vienna.

**German Prophecy.**

April 19th, 1905.

We are of opinion that if ever the day should come—we seek it not—when our Navy will have to show of what it is capable, the world will experience the same surprise it had in the case of our Army.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

**The Hegemony of the Sea.**

May 3rd, 1905.

Voices have been heard in England that the German Navy must be exterminated while it is yet

small; but such people should be reminded that this German Navy is quite powerful enough so to damage the British as to cause the hegemony of the sea to pass to the United States or France. And English commerce would also lose its dominant position in such a struggle.—“Reichsbote,” Berlin.

#### France's Goodwill.

May 5th, 1905.

Germany and France have more mutual than antagonistic interests, while English interests are generally opposed to those of France. A well-directed French policy would certainly seek a rapprochement with Germany. Sooner or later political complications will lead to it any way, no matter how hard England is trying to prevent this danger.—“Braunschweiger Landeszeitung.”

#### Only a Question of Time.

June 16th, 1905.

The breaking away from the Motherland of all the existing English possessions in South Africa is only a question of time.—“Deutsche Volkstamm.”

#### Nothing but Confidence.

July 21st, 1905.

The threats of a simultaneous war with France and England, which are so openly made in the Press of the latter country, need cause no alarm in Germany. Certainly the combined fleets of England and France can checkmate the German Navy, and temporarily paralyse our trade. But not at sea, but on land, will this war be finally decided. And in that respect Germany need not have the slightest fear.—“Vossische Zeitung,” Berlin.

#### Germany's Trip to the Orient.

August 2nd, 1905.

England's vulnerable heel is in India. Even if the German Fleet were destroyed, England must have to fight the combined German and Russian armies to the south of the Himalayas.—“Taegliche Rundschau.”

#### Virulence Everywhere.

August 7th, 1905.

Anti-English feeling in Berlin, in the form in which it manifested itself during the Boer War, has burst out once more into a blaze. The announcement of the British naval demonstration in the Baltic and the attending comments of the pan-German and anti-Semitic Press are the cause of it. In competent financial and commercial circles this animosity against England is but little, if at all, in evidence, but its virulence among the younger members of the educated classes, among the officials and teachers, and among the junior officers and others, more than compensates for its absence elsewhere. In every

place where a number of people come together, the bitterest language is used with regard to England.—“Volkszeitung,” Cologne.

#### Our Naval Supremacy.

September 4th, 1905.

England's exclusive supremacy on the sea is for all countries with oversea foreign trade a grave insecurity, a sword of Damocles which may fall at any moment.—“Kreuz Zeitung,” Berlin.

#### “‘Entente,’ perhaps, but ‘Cordiale,’ No!”

September 6th, 1905.

We expect that after Englishmen and Frenchmen get nearer to each other, the latter will drop much of their young admiration of England. There may be communion of interests in the near future—“entente,” perhaps, but “cordiale,” no! Such is only possible for any length of time in a case of a mutual hatred or a communion of ideas. The former is said not to exist; the latter will never come about.—“Neue Züricher Zeitung.”

#### England's Doom.

October 7th, 1905.

Nothing is left to the English but their maritime predominance. But that is being cut into on both sides. On the one hand, England is too small a country, its inhabitants too small a people, to support the burden of sea power in the future. On the other hand, several rivals now surpassing England in territory, population, and wealth are bending themselves to assert their equality, if not, indeed, their superiority, at the expense of the English suzerainty at sea, and ultimately by its overthrow.—“Kreuz Zeitung,” Berlin.

#### German Hopes.

October 10th, 1905.

British naval supremacy under all circumstances is doomed. If the United States were not actually allied to Germany in case of war, Washington would interfere to protect that Power from the worst consequences of defeat. The English supremacy at sea can now only last as long as it is not disputed.—“Kreuz Zeitung,” Berlin.

#### A Monstrous Doctrine.

October 21st, 1905.

Germany has the right to address to France this question: in case we should be involved in a conflict with England, are you going to be England's ally, and consequently our enemy; or are you going to preserve an honest neutrality? To raise this question is not to interfere with the independence of French policy. Germany is bound to ask this question in her own most vital interests.—“Frankfurter Zeitung.”



### Poor Old England.

November 6th, 1905.

England has reached the high-water mark of commercial, economic, and military activity. People in England are aware of England's decadence.—"Neue Militarisch-Politische Korrespondenz," Berlin.

### A Gloomy Reflection.

April 26th, 1906.

The isolation of Germany must, indeed, have gone far when rumours of an alliance between England, France, Russia, and Italy can appear with such growing frequency and increasing emphasis.—"Zeitung," Hamburg.

### Teutonic Irony.

May 7th, 1906.

Are not England, France, and Russia irresistible when united? And can they not force their will upon the west of Europe, and especially on Germany, who dares now at every division of the good things of this world to utter her little word, too?—"Zeitung," Hamburg.

### England and Russia.

May 26th, 1906.

England and Russia are settling their differences at Germany's cost, since the conclusion of an Anglo-Russian agreement will render the isolation of Germany complete.—"Das Reich," Berlin.

### "The Little Cousin."

May 29th, 1906.

John Bull was very kindly disposed towards us so long as we were the little cousin who revered him almost to idolatry. Now that we have had enough of life in crannies and corners, and are contending valiantly for a place in the sun, tension is produced.—"Der Tag," Berlin.

### When Germany Would Agree.

June 5th, 1906.

If England ever made a proposal regarding disarmament, Germany could only reply by accepting the principle of a limitation of naval expansion on the basis of an equality of the fleets of all the Great Powers. Germany might well agree to the cessation of naval expansion when the German Navy was as powerful as the British.—"Tägliche Rundschau," Berlin.

### How to Fight Britain.

July 25th, 1906.

In case of an Anglo-German war, our best defence would be to sow thousands of submarine mines on our coasts and in the Straits of the Baltic, which

would thus become untenable to the enemy. We must not take any notice of the antiquated idea of a territorial zone limited to a few miles from the shore; that is a fiction only supported by England in her interests.—"Ueberall," Berlin.

### "One Soul and One Body."

August 4th, 1906.

In former days, when England was comparatively less strong and France was more powerful, these two nations feared and hated each other. Then England tried to pitch Prussia against France; now it is the other way round. Both France and England fear Germany, and for this reason are as one soul and one body.—"Bismarck Bund," Berlin.

### The "Furor Teutonicus."

April 26th, 1907.

If England attempts to boycott Germany by hampering our freedom of navigation in the Mediterranean, it would be the signal for a world-war; but as that could be done only with the sanction of France, it is altogether unlikely. The French do not desire another taste of the furor Teutonicus. Germany awaits unconcernedly the result of England's wholesale entente machinations, because history will certainly say, with regard to King Edward's latest achievement, "Too many cooks spoil the broth."—"Berliner Zeitung."

### Isolated and Surprised.

July 16th, 1907.

King Edward appears to be a very clever diplomatist. Germany is gradually becoming surrounded by a syndicate of anti-German Powers, organised by the British monarch. Perhaps more surprises are in store for the German Empire.—"Gegenwart," Berlin.

### Making Arrangements.

June, 1908.

The policy of encircling Germany is at present the keynote of the entire international situation. We must recognise this, so that we can calmly gauge the weakness of the circle and make our arrangements.—"Dresden Nachrichten."

### Germany's Strength.

June, 1908.

Britain wants no war; she only wants to checkmate Germany in order to lame a troublesome rival. Germany, in any circumstances, is strong enough to, even without her allies, maintain her position.—"Rheinische Westfaelische Zeitung" (organ of the industrial interests).

**"A Lost Paradise."**

June, 1908.

Has the moment arrived for dropping the mask from the real meaning of England's ententes? The next few weeks must show. All around we are hedged in by alliances which actually deprive us of light and air. England has perfected a mutual plan of operations with France, upon which English generals have worked more zealously than French. A Franco-Russian plan of operation has long existed, and was recently scrutinised by the British War Office. England, France, and Russia have attained their object. Whether the world shall return to repose depends upon us, although for Germans the world now resembles a lost Paradise.—"Morgen," Berlin.

**The Kaiser's Work.**

January 29th, 1909.

One thing everybody in this country recognises. It is the Kaiser who has rid us of the idea that the sea is Germany's natural boundary.—"Tageblatt," Berlin.

**The Dreadnought Policy.**

October 21st, 1909.

The real underlying reason why England initiated the Dreadnought policy was to intimidate other navies then in process of development, especially Germany. These were to be given to understand that they could not keep the pace, Germany least of all. This reckoning has failed.—"Deutsche Tageszeitung," Berlin.

**Our Naval Weakness.**

October 26th, 1909.

England possesses a fleet strong enough to be matched against any two others in the world. The fleet's weaknesses, however, are the doubtful quality of the guns and the unreliability of the personnel. Moreover, the more ships England builds, the more recruits are lacking, and desertion is another evil which has to be reckoned with.—General Liebert, in "Der Tag," Berlin.



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